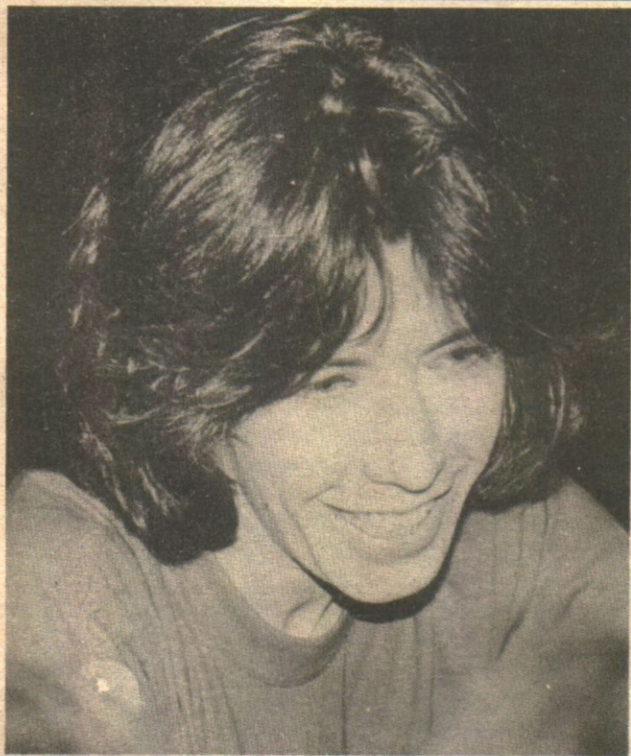


IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 24

May 3-9, 1977

40 Cents



NOW in the second decade

From Lily Tomlin to its new homemaker president Eleanor Smeal, the National Organization of Women is united around passage of ERA.



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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

Labor takes to streets, Carter woos consumers over free trade issue

It wasn't entirely accurate to say, as AFL-CIO president George Meany did, that the work stoppage and demonstration by over 300,000 garment and textile workers last April 13 was the first time American workers had ever called a "strike against the government."

But Meany's historical exaggeration befitted the occasion. It was the largest demonstration against government policies since the 1970 antiwar demonstrations, and probably the largest labor demonstration against the government. And the issue—whether the U.S. will restrict imports to protect jobs—may split the leading political forces in the U.S. right down the middle.

On the one side is labor, along with smaller manufacturers in industries like shoes and textiles that have been hurt by rising imports from Japan, Western Europe and, most recently, from multinational corporations that have migrated to the Third World.

On the other side are American corporate and financial leaders, representing multinational corporations and banks, agribusiness, and importers, who see quotas and tariffs either as an immediate threat to their own imports or as precipitating retaliation that will eventually affect not only their business but the alliance of the "trilateral" capitalist powers.

During Jimmy Carter's campaign it was unclear where he stood. While assuring the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union that he "would always keep a watchful eye out for your industry to insure that it was not unreasonably prejudiced by unrestrained competition," he was telling the Foreign Policy Association that he would "work to lower tariff barriers."

But this year on April Fool's Day it became clear the joke was on labor. Carter turned down an International Trade Commission recommendation that he impose tariffs and quotas on shoe imports to protect a dying American industry from low-wage, low-price imports, a move that prompted the textile and garment workers, fearful that they too were about to be sold down the river, to call the April 13 demonstrations.

►Winning consumers for free trade.

Carter's allegiance to free trade before jobs might have been inferred earlier from his appointment of W. Michael Blumenthal as Secretary of the Treasury and C. Fred Bergsten as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs.

Along with Carter, both were members of the Trilateral Commission, which was formed in part to repair the damage done to the alliance among capitalist powers by protectionist Nixon/Connally trade policies of the early 1970s. On trade, they believe that the elimination of all tariffs and quotas is essential to American prosperity and to preserving the trilateral alliance.

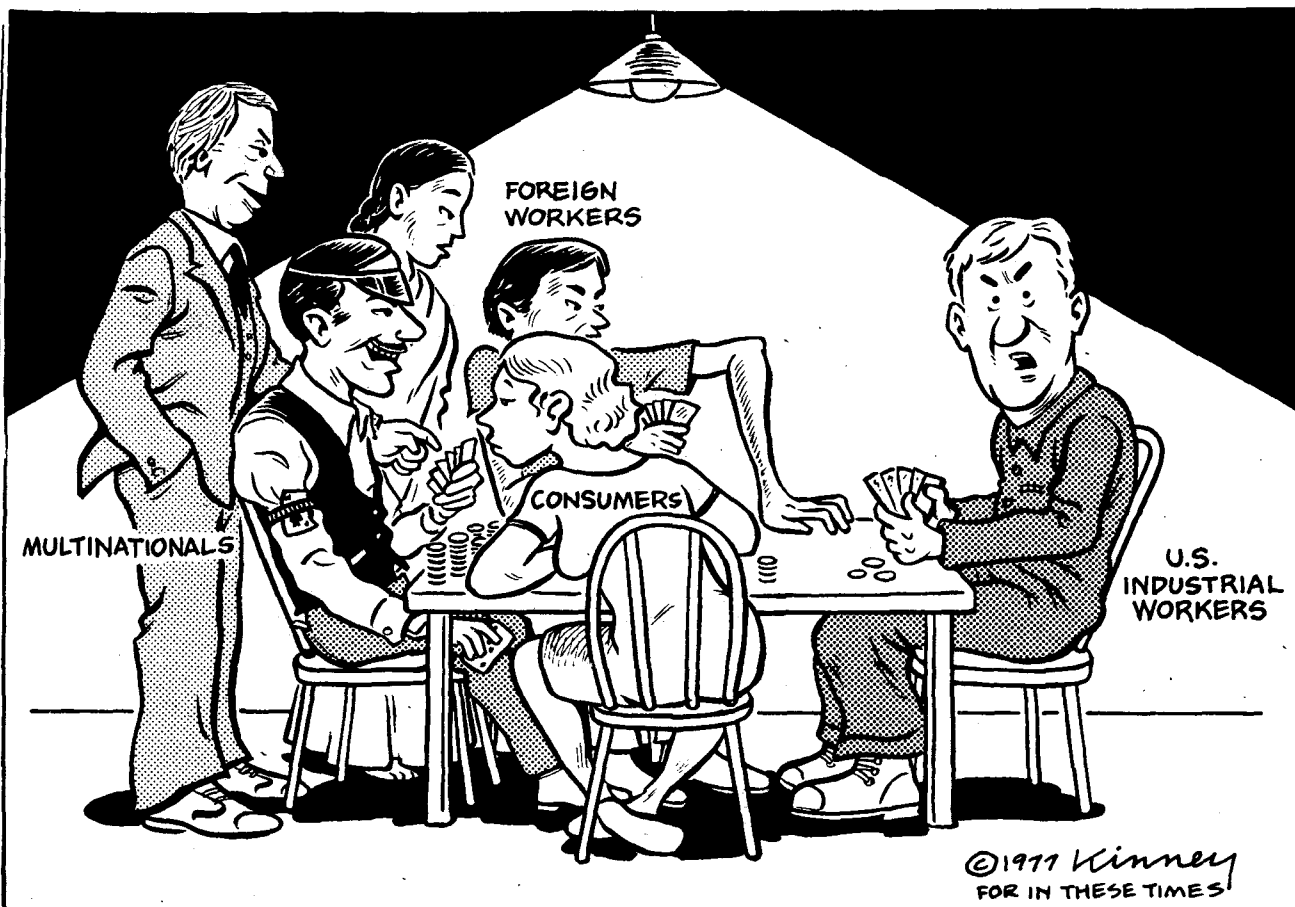
In his writings on free trade, Bergsten has described how labor has become free trade's "most potent" political enemy. In an article on "The Crisis in Foreign Trade" (*Foreign Affairs*, 1971), he explains how labor is threatened by the mobility of the multinational corporation and by the growth in the U.S. of an economy increasingly based on high-technology production and the production of services.

Goods production workers in labor-intensive industries that "cannot compete well...and thus want protection, are grossly overrepresented in the labor movement." Most service producers are not unionized; and labor "has not moved quickly enough in organizing the fast-growing high-technology industries."

To create a new free trade ally for the multinationals and agribusiness, Bergsten prescribes appealing to the unorganized worker as a consumer. "The consumer is the logical candidate," he says. With inflation now of "particular concern to consumers," government officials can point to the inflationary consequences of import restrictions.

Carter's response to the ITC's recommendations on shoes followed Bergsten's strategy. Labor had argued

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"DAMNDEST CARD GAME I'VE EVER SEEN..."

that the importers of \$4 shoes from Taiwan, Brazil and South Korea were pocketing extra profits and that the competitive structure of the shoe industry would prevent new price s. The ITC had predicted a \$190 million price to consumers, but saw this as being offset by the gain in worker income from the jobs saved.

The administration, however, cited a report done for shoe retailers that showed that import controls would increase prices \$500 million a year. According to this report, consumers would be paying upwards of \$30,000 for each job saved.

The administration also appealed to the Third World worker who was benefited by the spread of multinationals. "The trade issue is part and parcel of the North/South dialogue," one administration trade official told the *Washington Post*.

Of course, the official didn't mention that multinational firms do not set up plants in Third World countries for humanitarian reasons, but precisely because they can profit from the low condition of labor there.

►Labor faces a stiff task.

Carter's rejection of the ITC's recommendations on shoes, coming on the heel of his minimum wage proposals, prompted a bitter response from Lane Kirkland, the secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO and probable successor to George Meany. "In national and world affairs," Kirkland told a Conference on International Trade and Jobs, "whether the winds blow left or right, cold war or detente, Republican or Democratic, big business adapts and comes to winning terms."

"When the Republicans are in, business wins because it owns the party. When the Democrats are in, business wins because it extracts the price of 'business confidence.' That price usually includes the sacrifice of the main elements of the Democratic platform and of labor's program, conduits to the oval office, and a pipeline to the Treasury vault."

"A word needs to be said on the emerging principle of consumer sovereignty as it affects trade issues,"

Kirkland continued, "that is, the proposition that the consumer has an inalienable, top priority right to \$4 Korean shoes, regardless of the conditions under which they are made, the human, social and economic cost of lost American jobs, and of who really gets the \$4. This principle is mostly expounded by those who get their shoes at Gucci."

"The campaign to divide workers and consumers is a convenient tactic, serving to frustrate the legitimate interests of both so as to advance other interests and doctrines. Who are these consumers who have no stake in the preservation of jobs and skills?"

But labor faces a stiff task in organizing a coalition against Carter and the multinationals that can withstand the appeal to consumer interests. While labor can make a case that imports controls on shoes will not raise prices, a similar case cannot be made for TVs, automobiles, steel or textiles.

One alternative for labor is to favor quotas rather than tariffs. "The whole thing is to preserve part of the domestic market for domestic production and employment," Helen Kramer, a UAW economist told *IN THESE TIMES*.

But quotas can also encourage price rises. Only social planning of production, prices and investment can really provide a framework in which trade policy can operate to the benefit of all workers. Except in very tentative ways—in its advocacy of a public commission to oversee foreign investment—the AFL-CIO has resisted taking this step.

Carter and the multinationals, however, also face difficult sledding. In 1979, the executive authority to negotiate trade agreements expires, and a Congress in which small business and labor have significant input will not likely pass a new trade bill if Carter continues on his present course. With over 50 claims for import relief presently before the ITC and more in the wings, he will have to make at least superficial concessions along the way.

As 1979 approaches, it is likely that Carter will find himself hedged in from all sides.

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Brewery workers at Coors plant seek boycott

By Timothy Lange

Golden, Colo. The giant, windowless mass that is the Adolph Coors Co. brewery physically dominates this city of 10,000 the way the right-wing Coors brothers politically dominate the lives of their thousands of workers. Now, for the second time in 20 years, Brewery Workers Local 366 is on strike at the 104-year-old brewery, the nation's fifth largest beer seller and, with its companion packaging and porcelain plants, the state's largest manufacturing concern.

Together with the strike, the union is pushing a George Meany-endorsed boycott of the beer for which Paul Newman and other East Coast faddists reputedly pay up to a dollar per bootleg can. (Coors, which made a record \$76 million last year, is distributed only in 13 western states.)

The strike and boycott are a test of strength that has Local 366 on the defensive.

Union members hit the pavement April 5, more than three months after the previous contract had expired and two since the last negotiating session with management. The company has called this an economic strike, but picketeers all say they don't want more money, just their seniority and human rights.

As recently as last June Bill Coors told the Denver Society of Security Analysts that his company was fighting unions to prevent a collapse of the "free enterprise system," and he and his better known brother Joe are clearly out to smash the already enfeebled local.

The company has already hired some 300 permanent replacements and proposed an open shop in negotiations that reopened April 18 under the guidance of a federal mediator.

Under Coors' pressure, hundreds of workers have turned in their union cards and returned to the plant. Although union officials publicly deny Coors' claim that more than half of its 1472 members are back inside, some privately concede the company's figure might be accurate.

►Specter of 1957.

Finally, there is the specter of 1957.

After an acrimonious, mildly violent strike of 118 days that year, the union lost the struggle.

For workers like Leonard Heilman, who was on the picket-line in 1957 and now walks it with his son Dave, the situation this time around appears much the same as before. The company simply "wore down the union with the same kinds of intimidation that are being used this time," the elder Heilman says.

Besides cutting off health insurance benefits to strikers, the company has sent numerous letters to lure back workers, mostly by trying to convince them they are being used as "pawns" in an ideological struggle and that union leaders are misinforming them about the company's contract proposals. If they don't come back, they are told, they will lose their jobs.

In an April 7th letter to all brewery workers signed "With warmest regards," Bill Coors betrayed his archaic pater-



Labor has always viewed the Coors contract as an embarrassment to organized labor. An embarrassment it is.

nalism when he wrote, "I consider myself your friend, and I don't want you to get hurt."

In the same letter, he wrote that the 366th is using "union principles" instead of cooperating with the company to solve problems, noting that after the '57 strike, a regional AFL-CIO representative said it would have been better to have no contract at all than the one that was signed. "Since that date,"

wrote Coors, "AFL-CIO people have always viewed the Coors contract as an embarrassment to organized labor." An embarrassment it is.

►Lie detector tests and arbitrary findings

Before anyone is hired, he or she must undergo a polygraph test. Union rep David Sickler says, "They ask if you are

(Continued on page 4.)

Trade boycott key to U.S./Cuba talks

By Saul Landau

In February Cuban President Fidel Castro told CBS reporter Bill Moyers that Cuba had already withdrawn more than half of its troops from Angola and had replaced them with technicians (not covert operators). In April Vice-President Raul Castro reaffirmed this to South Dakota Senators James Abourezk and George McGovern.

The South Dakota basketball team (which last month lost two in a row to the Cubans) and the Minnesota businessmen whose visit also signified an unofficial relaxation of tensions have returned home. Terrence Todman, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, arrived on April 25 in Havana to open official talks, designed to pave the way to normalization. Todman is the first State department official to travel to Cuba since Eisenhower severed relations in January 1961.

The Cuban terms remain clear. The U.S. must lift the almost 17 year old embargo (the Cubans call it blockade) and show signs of stopping terrorism.

The American position is more vague. President Carter has said that he awaits Cuban troop withdrawals in Africa and moves on human rights, although he did not link these issues directly with restoration of relations. The moves made thus far by the new administration, dropping travel and currency restrictions, and granting permission for the South Dakotan cagers to play, were seen by South Dakotan Senators George McGovern and James Abourezk as clear indicators of forthcoming relations.

McGovern and Abourezk spent 45 minutes in the White House on April 20th talking with President Carter about the prospects for relations. The President responded to McGovern's proposed amendment to the embargo on Cuba with: "I will not oppose a congressional initiative

"To negotiate under conditions of blockade," Raul Castro told Abourezk and McGovern and Wisconsin congressman Les Aspin, also visiting with the baseball team, "is equivalent to negotiating with a knife at your throat."

to permit food and medical supplies to go to Cuba."

Cuban President Castro responded to Carter indirectly a few days later by telling Minnesota Chamber of Commerce representatives that prospective food and medical imports by Cuba would require that the U.S. buy products from Cuba—such as cigars, rum, nickel and ultimately sugar. The Cuban economy has suffered from the fall of sugar prices, which dropped in two years from over 60¢ to between six to eight cents a pound; its ability to purchase from outside the COMECON market has fallen with the sugar price.

►Exiles divided. Meanwhile, the opposition to renewed relations has begun to warm up its reactionary engine.

Lobbyists from expropriated American oil, utilities, telephone, nickel, land and sugar companies have joined with some rabid Cuban exiles and "old" right-wingers to oppose all steps toward neighborly good will. In addition, the once liberal gang whose whine now comes in narrower bottles have joined the frantic anti-Castro chorus. The *Commentary* crowd, the Jewish equivalent to *National Review*, and columnists like John Roche, have thrown in with the exile terrorists and the oil companies on this issue.

The exile Cuban community as a whole has split over the issue. As time has passed, missed families have begun to overtake anti-communism in priority. A women's delegation from Miami visited the Senate and announced that they wanted to see loved ones. The exiled Cuban women denounced to Senator Abourezk the "bullying tactics of a small group of Miami-based terrorists" that have controlled the "voice of the Cuban exiles" until recently. The terrorists, in turn, have become more desperate, their threats emptier and, according to one woman who did not want to be identified, when they do turn to violence, it costs them even within their limited support group.

The lure of the estimated \$300 million a year Cuban market may well turn some congressional conservatives into liberals when the McGovern amendment surfaces. Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) has bitten at the Cuban rice hook, and Congressman Charles Whelan (R-Oh.) feels that certain computers manufactured in his district can be sold to Cuba within a reasonable time period.

President Castro shrugs his shoulders when asked about a time table. "We have waited for a long time and we will wait longer if necessary. The United States must lift the blockade."

"To negotiate under conditions of blockade," Raul Castro told Abourezk and McGovern and Wisconsin Congressman Les Aspin, also visiting with the basketball team, "is equivalent to negotiating with a knife at your throat."

"And if the food and medicine provisions were lifted?" asked McGovern, "would that suffice as conditions?"

"Well," Raul grinned, "we would certainly welcome it, but really it only would mean placing the knife several inches further from the throat; not removing it."

Neither Cuban leader showed any willingness to discuss Cuba's position on Puerto Rico. On questions of principle, said Fidel, "there's nothing to discuss." On Africa Raul told the American congressional delegation that Cuba had no troops there, aside from Angola. It did have military missions in four countries, ranging from 10 to 50 people: Guinea Bissau, Democratic Republic of Guinea, Sierra Leone and Mozambique.

Informally Cuban officials discussed the anticipated problems that would arise with an influx of American tourists. "A mixed blessing," said a Cuban who had just finished caring for a group of American visitors, "but rest assured that the new Cuba will not attract the same old tourists. We don't and won't have gambling, hookers or lots of trinkets to buy. Those that come will do so for the sun, the sand and because they have some social interests."

As U.S. and Cuban representatives signed agreements on fishing rights in New York last month a U.S. travel agent began to advertise the first tours, leaving from New York to Cuba. And a Cuban basketball team has accepted South Dakota's invitation for a rematch—in Sioux Falls.

"It's inevitable," Fidel Castro quipped. "Geography has determined that we are neighbors."

Saul Landau is director of the Transnational Institute in Washington, D.C.

IN THE NATION

ELECTION

Rent control behind Berkeley loss

By Walt Milliken

Berkeley. The progressive electoral coalition here, Berkeley Citizen's Action (BCA), suffered a major setback in elections April 19. All three of BCA's candidates for the four open positions on the City Council lost narrowly, and BCA-backed rent control and tenants' union measures lost heavily.

Last November's election of candidates sympathetic to the BCA to a county supervisor and a state assembly seat had created hopes that the ten-year struggle for a left majority on the city council would result in a victory. Instead, with the defeat of BCA incumbent Ying Lee Kelley, BCA is left with only two of nine council seats.

The defeat has been blamed variously on a smear campaign by the opposition Berkeley Democratic Club slate, dissension among Berkeley leftists, and increasingly conservative students. A study of voter turnout indicates, however, that the major factor in the coalition's defeat was the rent control issue. Traditionally left-voting students stayed away from the polls apparently confused by arguments that the passage of rent control would drive students out of Berkeley. Meanwhile, more conservative voters turned out in large numbers to defend private property.

Anti-rent control forces raised more than \$150,000 and hired Don Solem, successful manager of the opposition to

last summer's statewide nuclear safeguard initiative, to run their campaign. The pro-rent control campaign could only raise \$5000 and hired an inexperienced nineteen year old campaign coordinator in the last month. Even some of its defenders agreed that it was a badly written law.

A previous rent control measure in Berkeley and its subsequent overruling by the state supreme court had convinced many Berkeley activists that a rewritten measure meeting the court's objections could easily be passed. The initial drafting of the measure was left to a group of lawyers and local housing activists. But the Berkeley Tenants Union agreed to participate only if they had a veto over the bill's final wording.

The BTU then insisted that small landlords renting only "in-law apartments" or single units be included in the measure and that consideration of tenant's income be part of the rent raising process.

The anti-rent control campaign, financed largely from outside Berkeley by realtor associations and savings and loan groups, was consequently able to claim both that the measure would drive small property owners out of Berkeley, and that landlords would be discouraged from renting to low-income and transitory students.

►Caught between left and right

The BCA candidates might have been able to overcome the difficulty with the rent control measure if they had not



P. Keich

also allowed themselves to be caught between the left of their own coalition and their opponents, the Berkeley Democratic Club.

About 25 percent of the Berkeley electorate or about 10,000 voters are firmly on the left. Their position, as represented in a programmatic book, *The Cities' Wealth*, calls for the municipalization of housing and utilities, the creation of a city bank and the development of city owned and worker controlled light industry. In a watered down form much of this program is reflected in the platform adopted by the BCA convention.

During the BCA convention this group joined with members of the BCA Third World Caucus to support the candidacy of an articulate young black member of the Communist Party, Mark Allen, for the fourth position on the BCA slate. But partly out of what many observers felt was a fear of redbaiting and partly out of a disagreement with the politics of the Communist party, the already elected members of BCA strongly opposed an endorsement for Allen. A compromise was finally reached when the convention endorsed three candidates and left the fourth slot open for Mark Allen's independent candidacy (IN THESE TIMES, Feb. 16-22).

Actual precinct work was little affected

by this split; most workers carried literature for both and organization of precinct work was coordinated so as to avoid duplication. In fact Mal Warwick, BCA campaign manager, reports that more precincts were worked than ever before.

The public campaigns of the BCA candidates were, however, seriously affected. They spent a considerable amount of time insisting that they were not running with Mark Allen. In the black community BCA candidate Margot Dashiell ran virtually her whole campaign against Mark Allen. (In the final results, Allen came in behind the BCA candidates.)

The Cities' Wealth also became an issue when none of the BCA candidates would admit to a local conservative paper ever having read the book. Thus the candidates spent much of the election defending themselves against the charges of being associated with their own left supporters.

The Berkeley Democratic Club slate, holders of a lackluster record as the city council majority, were thus able to show the BCA slate alternately as a Trojan horse from the left or as ignorant, confused and vacillating.

Walt Milliken lives in Berkeley and is a member of the Campaign for Economic Democracy and the New American Movement.

Coors

Continued from page 3.)

"We're tired of having him use his profit at our expense to dispense his philosophy. He likes to compare the quality of his beer, why can't we compare the quality of our contract and jobs?"

going with anybody, if you have sex and how often" as well as questions about homosexuality, drug use and crimes the job-seeker may have committed without being caught. Other workers verify Sickler's version, but a company spokesman told IN THESE TIMES that no sex questions are asked.

Once inside the plant, the worker is subject to an amazing list of reasons for immediate dismissal. Written into the recently expired contract (and proposed for the new one) are provisions that allow for immediate firing of any employee who makes "disparaging remarks" about the Coors or their beer, whose conduct on company grounds "violates the common decency or morality or the community" and who refuses to be frisked by a plant guard. The contract also demands that workers cross picket lines the brewery's other unions might set up.

Added to the proposed contract's reasons-for-dismissal list (the company is always adding to the list, says Heilman) is a requirement that all workers must submit to a physical any time the com-

pany asks. Union business agent Ken DeBey calls the provision an outrage because physicals are partly designed to detect the presence of alcohol in workers' bloodstreams, yet the company permits workers to drink beer on breaks and at lunch. Intoxication is another cause for immediate dismissal.

►Seniority at stake

Some workers have given up fighting the polygraph and dismissal list. Uppermost in their minds is the seniority issue, a complex fight over whether the company can arbitrarily assign workers to rotating shifts or shorten their work week or lay them off without regard to longevity. The company claims it's always had that right; the union says it hasn't had and shouldn't have that kind of power, which could lead to hurting experienced employees in favor of newer, lower paid workers.

Union officials aren't discussing other issues much. The G.I. Forum, a chicano veterans group, just ended its nine-year-old Coors boycott after members became relatively satisfied that the company was making an honest effort to hire minorities. The Department of Agriculture's OEO has approved Coors' affirmative action plan, but the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission labels it a "paper" plan.

Coors, says Sickler, has called the company-union struggle a war, and the old contract provides "us with our guns. We're tired of having him use his profit at our expense to dispense his philosophy. He likes to compare the quality of his beer, why can't we compare the quality of our contract and jobs? Other breweries function well by giving workers dignity. Why can't this one?"

Timothy Lange is on the staff of the *Colorado Statesman* and a free lance writer specializing in energy and labor.

Joe Coors's rightwing past

For some Coloradans the three-week-old boycott against Coors has little meaning: they have refused to drink the company's beer for years. The chief target of their protest is not brewery president William Coors, who is rarely in the political arena, but his younger brother Joe.

The third son of Adolph Coors Jr. (another brother was kidnapped and murdered in 1960), the 59-year-old Cornell graduate in chemical engineering has made his mark in politics.

His six years as regent at the University of Colorado spanned the most active period of student and antiwar protests, and he was frequently assailing what he saw as campus Reds. After the CU president permitted Students for a Democratic Society to hold a nationwide convention on campus in 1968, Coors called for his resignation. He also funded and tried to control a short-lived alternative in competition with the progressive student newspaper.

His stands against minorities; his porcelain plant's production of missile nosecones and helicopter armor for Vietnam and his John Birch Society contributions drew numerous student protests. By the time campus reform allowed beer in the student union, Coors' brand was prohibited.

In 1968, he met Paul Weyrich at the GOP National Convention, where Coors was a Ronald Reagan delegate. Weyrich became a Coors' darling, eventually setting up the Heritage Foundation, a research institution created to compete with Coors' concept of leftist foundations like the Brookings Institution.

Heritage led to the Committee for the

Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC), an organization devoted to unseating 100 so-called "radical" Congresspersons in the 1976 election. Coors provided the seed money, but Weyrich claimed the brewer had no control over the committee. Among the first 20 designated "radicals" were two of Colorado's five Representatives.

In 1972, Coors initiated Television News, Inc., a conservative syndicate to compete with "leftists" like Harry Reasoner and Walter Cronkite. TVN employees who quit working for the syndicate said Coors' hand-picked director tried to get them to slant the news, and the operation was the subject of a scathing article in the *Columbia Review of Journalism*.

On Aug. 7, 1974, the day before he resigned, Richard Nixon nominated Coors to the 15-member board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Considerable opposition arose from those who claimed Coors could be expected to use his board seat to censor public television programs. But it looked as if he would get the seat.

Before Senate hearings on the nomination, however, a letter Coors wrote to CPB President Henry Loomis was made public by the *Washington Post*. In the letter, Coors complained about an upcoming program on funeral rip-offs: "I am not yet familiar enough with the interconnections between PBS and CPB to know whether you can do anything about this, but it is the type of thing which I will be very interesting in watching closely if I ever become confirmed on your fine board." He wasn't.

-T.L.

LABOR

ILWU convention confronts job crisis

During his long career retiring president Harry Bridges has been denounced as a Communist and a class collaborator.

by Stefan Ostrach

Seattle. For more than two hours on April 22, 30 delegates to the 22nd Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) took the floor to pay tribute to Harry Bridges, Lou Goldblatt and Bill Chester, who were stepping down as officers of the West Coast waterfront union. The delegates also voted to give a \$13,000 retirement bonus to each of the three men.

During his long career Bridges, who is still physically active and mentally sharp at age 76, has been both denounced as a Communist and accused of being a class collaborator.

In 1934 he was a central figure in the San Francisco General Strike. Twice—in 1939 and 1941, the federal government tried to deport him to his native Australia for being a subversive. And in 1950 he was jailed for opposing the Korean War.

More recently politicians have praised him as a labor statesman, and in 1970 he was named to the San Francisco Port Authority.

Bridges continued his enigmatic ways at this year's convention. He warmly embraced conservative Washington Governor Dixie Lee Ray and argued against demanding 40 hours pay for 30 hours work. But he also told a press conference: "I'm not proud of bringing peace to the waterfront. It's only a truce. There will never be peace as long as there's the eternal conflict between those that own and those that don't."

►A progressive union.

The ILWU and the United Electrical Workers (UE) are the only two of eleven left-wing unions forced out of the CIO in 1949 that survived the red-baiting offensive of the 1950s. Resolutions passed by the convention reflect the union's progressive tradition.

The ILWU called for "restoration of full relations, including trade, with Cuba, Vietnam, and the People's Republic of China."

Support for the liberation struggles in Southern Africa was unanimous, although a boycott resolution was carefully worded to comply with contractual requirements. The delegates voted "to begin exploring and, wherever possible, to implement immediately means through which to stop all handling, warehousing, and transportation of all goods to or from South Africa and Zimbabwe." They also voted to notify employers that no future contracts would be negotiated which require them to handle such cargo, although the present dock contract extends until July 1978.

The convention went on record in support of cutting military spending and transferring funding from the Pentagon to job-creating social programs. Another resolution demanded environmentally-sound full employment.

The ILWU pledged itself "to take whatever steps are necessary to wipe out any discrimination" in the union and declared, "This union will not join in any agitation or legislation to punish alien residents for the hard times and unemployment which have been caused by our big-business oriented economic policies." The delegates unanimously supported the Campaign to End Discrimination against Pregnant Workers.

The union attacked multinational corporations for exporting capital and jobs and demanded the "curbing of



A serious shortage of jobs face lonshoremen due to the rise of mechanization and containerization.

Paul Sequeira

U.S. corporate investment abroad" and "an end to U.S. tax privileges for such foreign investment."

The delegates hailed the recent agreement between the United Farm Workers and the Teamsters and renewed their strong support for the farm workers' struggle.

►A crisis of jobs.

While the progressive political consensus distinguished the meeting from most U.S. union conventions, the Bridges era is ending at a time of crisis for the ILWU.

As a rank-and-file longshoreman (who was not at the convention) declared, "The convention is just window dressing." He described a serious shortage of jobs on the waterfront caused by mechanization and containerization.

Back in 1960 Bridges decided that technological progress on the waterfront could not be resisted. He negotiated a mechanization and modernization agreement that he said would share the advantages of automation with the workers. Bonuses were paid and pensions raised to encourage early retirement, and union members were guaranteed their pay whether there was work or not.

Since then, cargo tonnage and company profits have increased, but jobs have steadily declined.

In the San Francisco Bay area, second largest port in the U.S., the situation is critical. In spite of record tonnage moving through the port, longshoremen are averaging only 13-15 hours of work per week. While the union contract provides a pay guarantee plan (that excludes pensions and fringe benefits), it also requires that workers at "low work opportunity ports" can be forced to move to other areas or forfeit their pay guarantees.

Many Bay Area longshoremen don't want to move, however, and longshoremen at other ports don't want increased competition for jobs in their locations. In some cases resistance to transfers also involves opposition to an influx of Third World workers.

So far the Bay Area has been able to dodge being declared a low work opportunity port, but the trend is inevitable.

►Hawaiian sugar companies running away.

In Seattle, where the problem is not yet as serious, tonnage has doubled in the last five years, but man-hours have declined, according to Local 19

Secretary, Del Castle.

In Hawaii, where the ILWU is the most powerful union, the organization also faces a crisis. The union organized 30,000 workers on the islands in just 18 months during World War II and represents workers on the docks and also in the sugar, pineapple, and tourist industries.

The last time around, the sugar workers won a pacesetter agreement with the sugar companies that prohibited the employers from closing down any operations for the life of the contract.

When it expired in March, however, the Big Five sugar producers served notice that they would not renew this provision because of their desire to move to low wage areas like the Philippines.

The union persuaded them to extend the contract until November, hoping in the meantime that Congress would act to protect the Hawaiian sugar industry. If it doesn't, Hawaiian sugar workers face runaway plantations and mass unemployment.

►New officers nominated.

The last business "on the deck" at the convention was nomination of candidates to succeed the retiring officers.

For President, the candidates are Jimmy Herman of the San Francisco clerks' local and G. Johnny Parks, a Portland longshoreman. Both men are in their fifties and have been loyal supporters of Bridges' administration. Herman, who has Bridges' support, is considered to be the more progressive and is expected to win. He was screened off the waterfront during the Korean War and more recently has actively supported the farm workers. Parks is Northwest Regional Director and is known most for his role in opposing government limitations on the export of whole logs—a and that helped preserve jobs on the docks but hurt northwest sawmill workers, who face competition from exploitation of low-wage Asian workers.

Rudy Rubio, a Los Angeles longshoreman, was nominated for the Vice President slot without opposition as was George Martin of Hawaii, the incumbent Director of Organization.

In the race for Secretary-Treasurer, the favorite is Curt McClain, a black who is president of the San Francisco warehouse local. He is opposed by Fred Huntsinger, a Portland longshoreman.

Union members will vote by secret ballot in mid-June. The results will be announced and the new officers will take

up their posts in July.

►30 for 40.

The new officers will inherit a union that has largely given up the struggle at the workplace in recent years. By accepting mechanization and containerization in 1960 the ILWU gained a large measure of economic security for its older members, but it lost control of the work process that had been won in the great 1934 West Coast waterfront strike.

For the most part these problems simmered below the surface of the convention, although they were expected to emerge at the division caucus meetings (which were closed to the press) immediately following the convention. Only during discussion of a demand for forty hours pay for thirty hours work did the internal problems of the union emerge in public session.

The shorter work week was offered as the solution to the shortage of jobs on the waterfront. Bridges argued against it, saying that thirty hours work at no reduction in pay was an impossible demand. A resolution calling for thirty hours at no reduction was defeated and the issue was referred to the longshore caucus.

►A democratic union.

The new ILWU leaders are unlikely to change the union's established policies or to take a more militant stand. But the union's constitution provides for considerable internal democracy. Officers on all levels must stand for election every two years and are subject to recall on petition of 15 percent of the membership. All major policies, including contracts, must be discussed in division caucus and ratified by the members affected.

The convention itself was run as democratically as a large meeting can be. Delegates were free to take the floor and did not hesitate to argue with Bridges. Bridges himself asked for convention approval of controversial rulings. He dominated the convention by force of personality and reputation, not manipulation.

As conditions on the waterfront, in Hawaii, and in the world continue to develop, the ILWU rank-and-file have the means at hand to again put their union at the forefront of the class struggle.

Stefan Ostrach is a freelance writer living in Eugene, Oregon.

CRIME&PUNISHMENT

More young people going to jail

The swelling ranks behind bars parallel the shrinking opportunities for young people in the streets and schools of American cities.



Elliot Currie
Pacific News Service

Ten years ago, study after study concluded that imprisonment was the worst possible treatment for children who broke the law. But today a decade of liberal reform aimed at channeling young offenders away from penal institutions—into counseling, job-training programs, mental health services and the like—has been reversed.

The bewildering array of youth institutions—public and private, local and state, huge prisons and small homes—makes it difficult to accurately estimate the number of young people in detention. But it appears that more children are locked up, in adult jails as well as juvenile facilities, than ever before.

The swelling ranks behind bars parallel the shrinking opportunities for young people in the streets and schools of America's cities. A partial result of rising unemployment and cut backs in school, recreational and social welfare programs, youth "property" crimes spurted up by 50 percent between 1970 and 1975. FBI statistics indicate young people under

18 now account for over half of all arrests for burglary and auto theft and over one-third of those for robbery.

A growing public outcry against the urban crime wave had fueled what Jane Ward of the California Youth Authority calls "a more punitive attitude towards kids, a feeling among judges and others that kids should be locked up." Juvenile justice has become a boom industry—the agency of first, rather than last resort.

The trend was spelled out by a national study done at the University of Michigan's School of Social Work. "Juvenile justice resources have increased," it concluded, "at the same time other youth-serving agencies experienced declines in their resources..."

►Reform of Sixties.

During the 1960s, juvenile court judges scholars and blue-ribbon commissions all agreed that locking young people up not only failed to "rehabilitate" them, but often made them worse.

In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice declared the juvenile

justice system a "failure." "The youth who has once been through the process and comes out a delinquent is more likely to act delinquent again," it said.

"The most informed and benign institutional treatment of the child, even in well designed and staffed reformatories and training schools, thus may contain within it the seeds of its own frustration, and itself may often feed the very disorder it is designed to cure."

Fueled by the emerging consensus, many states experimented with programs to "divert" youth from the justice system to presumably more constructive social services.

But today, after extensive studies of this "diversion" process, many criminologists say that rather than replacing jails, the new alternatives have simply made room for more young people—including the less serious offenders—in the juvenile justice system.

►Surge in detentions.

In 1960 one of every 50 Americans aged 10 to 17 came before a juvenile court on a delinquency charge. By 1974, according to the University of Michigan survey, the rate had doubled, to one of every 25. Though comprehensive statistics for the years since 1974 are not yet available, the federal Office of Youth Development says the rate is still climbing.

Between 1971 and 1973 more young people came before juvenile courts, but the diversion trend brought about a 16 percent drop in the population in state and local facilities, according to the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). In 1974, however, that trend flattened out.

The Michigan survey, covering state but not county or municipal facilities, found the same drop between 1971 and 1973, but recorded a nationwide surge in detentions—from 28,000 to 34,000—in 1974.

Since then, evidence from those states with available data suggests the trend toward more lock-ups has continued.

In California, for example, a state

that gained national attention for juvenile justice reforms in the '60s, Youth Authority detentions jumped 30 percent between 1972 and 1976. And once in custody, youths were staying longer.

The real rise in detentions may be much higher when several other factors are taken into account:

- A growing number of youths sent to adult jails to compensate for cutbacks in juvenile facilities, a practice condemned by reformers for more than a century.

- A trend toward use of private facilities to replace state and local lock-ups. These include everything from large detention centers run by private charities or church groups to small private homes for juvenile delinquents.

- An unknown number of youths sent by the courts each year to homes for neglected and dependent children, mental hospitals and institutions for the retarded.

In the early 1970s, several states passed legislation requiring that many "status" offenders—those, like truants or runaways, whose crimes are illegal only for youths—be handled outside the juvenile justice institutions. But no systematic data is available showing where they went.

Given continuing high levels of youth unemployment and reductions in social services for young people, it is likely that youth crime will continue to be a problem. At the same time, the public outcry is likely to continue to push states and localities, even those like California and Massachusetts that led the reform swing of the '60s, to confront rising youth crime with more lock-ups and jails.

The irony of the situation was expressed by one California juvenile justice worker: "So we know locking them up won't do anybody any good. So what else is new? Where else are we going to put them?"

Elliott Currie has taught criminology at Yale and the University of California - Berkeley. In 1969 he was assistant director of a task force of the government's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

TAXES

Double reporting by insurance companies

By Dave Lindorff

Los Angeles. The old saw about death and taxes doesn't apply to life insurance companies and property taxes. Recent events show that "Nothing is as evadable as an insurance company's property taxes."

Property taxes—the American Way of financing local government—are probably the most regressive form of taxation going. All across the nation, "home-owners" pay the bulk of the costs of government, while commercial and industrial establishments pay a pittance.

As one employee of the Los Angeles Assessor's Office—largest in the country—put it, "A guy might pay \$1,000 in taxes on a house he bought for \$30,000, while a company will pay \$370,000 on a 20-story office building that cost \$75 million to build, and that's used to make profits."

Since property taxes normally rise when land values go up in an area, the whole issue has become politically explosive. In an inflationary economy, speculators have found the safest place to invest capital is real estate, and this forces up property values and taxes.

This is particularly true in Los Angeles, where residential property values have been rising at the fastest rate in the nation. Some areas here have property inflation of almost 10% per month! It's hard on the average worker with a stagnant salary, on the senior citizen on

fixed income, and especially on the tenant, who doesn't even have the option of selling.

But commercial and industrial property is another story. While profits have soared, business property assessments (and of course their property taxes) have remained steady, or even declined.

If you can believe the Assessor's Office and the Assessment Appeals Board in L.A., the high-rise office building of the Crocker National Bank (part of a national holding company that just reported net quarter profits of \$12 million and an increase in assets of \$1 billion) is a losing operation. It has obtained tax reductions year after year. You'd think it was a car, the way they say it's depreciating in value.

Because of the complexity of appraising these sky-scrapers, it's hard to police what's happening to them.

Records in the L.A. Assessor's Office show, for instance, that the highest building in Los Angeles, owned principally by the Equitable Life Assurance Company of New York, cost \$78 million to build. But is appraised by the Assessor as having a market value of only \$62.7 million.

Equitable is not satisfied with this seemingly choice situation. They have an appeal of their assessment underway, and are claiming that the 62-story building is really worth only \$37 million—a good deal less than they paid for it.

In California and many other states

life insurance companies have to provide state insurance commissions with a list of their assets to demonstrate their ability to back the policies they sell. The California law requires the companies to list the value of all property, using construction costs, purchase price, or market value, whichever is less. In this case Equitable listed the building as an asset worth \$78 million.

In other words, according to Equitable the building has several values. As an asset (when it pays to have the building worth as much as possible) the building is worth \$78 million, and as a tax liability (when it pays to have it worth as little as possible) it is worth only \$37 million—less than half as much.

Apparently, the Assessor's office here has known about this practice of dual listings for years and considered it of "no consequence." They have been content to accept the lower corporate figure or, as in this case, to "split the difference."

Opposition arose in this case, however, from a local group, Tax Reform Action Coalition, that decided to take on the "double booking" practice at the tax appeal hearing on another of Equitable's buildings—a 20-story structure that Equitable told the state was worth \$27.4 million and told the county tax office was worth only \$20 million.

A coalition of groups including the New American Movement, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Com-

mittee for Economic Democracy, Coalition for Economic Survival and others, TRAC formed in March to confront the property tax issue. Where conservative tax "reform" groups have argued that the way to reduce taxes is to cut human services, TRAC has insisted that the way to do it is to increase the tax on corporations who now evade their fair share.

TRAC activists demonstrated outside the hearing and packed the hearing room—usually a dull formality ignored even by the media. The appeals board—composed of realtors—listened attentively when the Assessor's Office brought up the "newly discovered" insurance commission figures and Equitable, after first failing to have the demonstrators ousted from the room, sensed what the outcome would be and asked for a one-month delay in the hearing. It will resume in mid-May.

It was a good move. Two weeks later, another appeals board turned down a similar request for a \$54 million assessment reduction by the owners of a skyscraper complex currently appraised at \$174 million. The major owner of the property was the Prudential Life Insurance Company. It had argued that the value of the building was really only \$120 million, but to the state insurance commissioner, it had said the building was an asset worth \$197 million.

Dave Lindorff is a reporter in the L.A. area.

FOOD

The Supermarket: higher profits and a way of life

By Margie Harrison

What do ITT, the \$64,000 question, "Family Circle," Piggly Wiggly, and IBM have in common? All are part of the corporate way of bringing home the bacon (poisoned with sodium nitrite) to the American people. And all figure in making one of the lowest common denominators in American life—the supermarket.

1912 is a year dear to the hearts of supermarket partisans. In that year a new concept was given birth. Clarence Saunders opened his first Piggly Wiggly supermarket operating it on a new (and more profitable) principle: self-service.

Saunders found that not only could the labor of the public be used to replace the clerks who had provided individual service, but more importantly, he and his compatriots discovered what is now a fundamental principle of selling: "consumer impulse." Freedom to roam the aisles resulted in more than doubling the average transaction.

►The "Price Wrecker" led to more profits

In southern California in the 1920's, the growing use of the automobile fostered experimentation with stores larger and more profitable than groceries. These large, one-stop, automobile-oriented markets were dubbed "super" markets by several Hollywood stars who were investors.

With the Depression and the decline in people's ability to pay (the number of employed people dropped 27% from 1929 to 1932) the search for continued profit led entrepreneurs like Michael Cullen to rent vacant warehouses and movie theaters and to sell food at lower prices, right out of the cases.

The success of Cullen's (the "Price Wrecker") King Kullen stores in Long Island convinced large grocery chains like A & P of the supermarket's future profitability. In 1937, reflecting the general tendencies of Depression-bred reorganization, the A & P chain sacrificed its investment in over 15,000 smaller stores and adopted the supermarket form.

Between 1936 and 1938, the number of supermarkets rose from 1200 to 4,982.

The founding in 1937 of the industry's first collective body, the Super Market Institute, signalled the ascendancy of this new form of food distribution.

Conditions during World War II contributed some lasting aspects. The difficulty of obtaining plentiful stocks of food led to the introduction of non-food, high-profit items into the "product mix." Health and beauty aids, for example, were added to supermarket shelves at the expenses of the traditional drug store. Today, non-food merchandising remains a widely used strategy for maintaining supermarket profitability.

Women entered the labor force in record numbers during WW II, and many stayed despite admonitions to return home and make way for the GI's. The supermarket industry responded flexibly to post-war needs and opportunities, accommodating and fostering the wave of suburban domesticity at the same time that it promoted convenience foods for the working woman.

►Cultivating the automobile

In the 50's the supermarket industry cultivated the rich soil of the automobile suburbs. Automobile registrations had increased from less than 2.5 million in 1915 to 48.5 million in 1950 and 6.3 million in 1958. From 1940 to 1950 population in suburban areas increased by 35.5 percent as compared with a 14 percent

rise in the U.S. as a whole. The supermarket chains took a lead in organizing suburban shopping malls, backed by the banks and insurance companies.

Supermarkets, both chain and independent, were gaining greater and greater control over food supplies, processing, distribution, selling. That control has been actively pursued both in the private world of corporate merger and acquisition, and the public world of "Knowing the customer" and shaping consumption (advertising).

Today, in keeping with the earliest traditions of supermarketing, the industry engages in much research activity focused on the consumer. The industry's research arms, like the Super Market Institute and the magazine *Progressive Grocer*, carefully examine people's reactions to stores and products. With the help of advertising agencies, research firms and universities (like Cornell with its "Food Executive Program", and Rutgers with its professors of Flavor Chemistry) the industry probes into the identity of its captive constituency. Women, the chief consumers in home economy's division of labor, have received particularly close attention.

►Shaping people's needs

In pursuit of the loyalty and dollars of the public, the supermarket industry went beyond straightforward product-price advertising to participate in the creation and promotion of a social environment. Designed to stimulate profitable consumption patterns, supermarket campaigns harmonized with the wave of social retrenchment and domestic retreat of the '50s. Products were advertised within a framework of virtuous housewifely imperatives; new products and new uses were introduced; new tasks made morally urgent; more hours absorbed by isolated drudgery.

Among the chief accomplishments of this endeavor for "public education" was the creation of a number of publications that are today widely respected and read as legitimate magazine. In 1932, Piggly Wiggly supermarkets produced and distributed *Family Circle*, dubbed a "trade-paper for home-makers." A & P followed suit and began publishing *Woman's Day* in 1937. In 1951 the Super Market Institute sponsored *Better Living*.

Gradually, these organs expanded from simple advertising rags to paid publications. They presented the American housewife with ever increasing expectations, higher standards of cleanliness, new products and new tasks, all packaged in a sanctimonious halo of domestic virtue. The success of these publications led marketers and promoters to involvements in other mass media promotions.

"Give-aways," games that glorified consumer commodities to be won, proved successful for general education and for sales. Manufacturers sponsored "give-away" radio and TV programs, one of the first being "The \$64,000 Question". Though that program was later discredited when pre-game coaching of participants was revealed, today's "Let's Make a Deal," "\$25,000 Pyramid," and "Treasure Hunt" continue the tradition.

►Monitoring public concern

Contemporary public concern about the control and quality of our food have soured the supermarket-dream and have shown its failure to deliver. Concern with inflation and general corporate pollution has brought more awareness of the destructive fruits of the U.S. agribusiness chains - carcinogenic food additives and preservatives, atmospheric ozone de-



Richard Stromberg

In pursuit of the loyalty and dollars of the public, the supermarket industry went beyond straightforward product-price advertising to participate in the creation and promotion of a social environment.

stroyed by aerosol cans and packaging, and a political market system that subsidizes non-growth in a time of global starvation.

None of this has been lost on an industry which with on-going consumer surveys measures our multifarious reactions—from sabotage to shop-lifting to pressure on political institutions—and seeks to badger, cajole and console us.

In 1969, representatives of Kraftco, Grand Union, *Good Housekeeping*, the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, Quaker Oats and other members of the Grocery Manufacturers of America met to found the Consumer Research institute. Though its name lends a facade of consumer representation the "Institute" serves industry and government agencies.

"Know thine enemies" must be the slogan of the Super Market Institute and the *Progressive Grocer* magazine; continuous surveys involving thousands of shoppers search for "early warnings" of coming strife in the aisles and registers. And how is the information used? Richard L. Neale, vice president of the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, says, "Consumerism is a merchandisable product." "Consumer advisors" constitute a new specialty in the world of public relations and newspeak. (Disneyland served as the site in 1973 for the formation of the Society of Consumer Affairs Professionals in Business.)

►Fast food competition

Supermarketeters once promoted their

parking lot marts as integral to American suburban family life. Now they are faced with a new competitive form—the "fast food" restaurants. According to the *Progressive Grocer*, while the number of retail grocery outlets declined by 6,320 from 1974 to 1975, 3,276 more "fast food" places made their appearance. In the late '60s, Americans spent 20 cents out of each food dollar in restaurants; today, we spend 36 cents of that dollar "out."

Trying to counter the \$200 million being spent annually by the "fast food" operators, Banquet Foods will soon be treating us to a \$4 million specially prepared lesson teaching the virtues of eating frozen foods at home. The motto is "Eat in and bank it."

Ironically, the success of the "fast food" outlets may lie precisely in the dollars-and-sense weakness of that motto: given the high cost of food, napkins, beverages, condiments and all those lovely liquids that even keep your hands soft, "fast food" may be a pretty good deal.

Beyond the economics, changing social needs have created a demand for these new eating places. As more and more women work or move away from housework, traditional home cooked meals and the work of making them become less frequent.

Despite assaults by competition and consumer unrest, however, supermarkets will probably reshape themselves to new conditions and continue to be a factor on America's cultural scene.

Margie Harrison is a writer in New York.

Random Samples

Can Congress discriminate?

Can Congressmen discriminate against women? Speaker of the house Tip O'Neill and Minority Leader John Rhodes say yes. They have been working behind the scenes to convince the Justice department to go to bat for ex-Rep. Otto Passman who is being sued by a female employee he fired because he wanted a man on the job. Sex discrimination is illegal under legislation passed by the Congress—except that Congress exempted itself from the legislation. Now O'Neill and Rhodes (and a good many of their colleagues) argue that members of Congress have a Constitutional right to hire and fire as they please. They want an appellate court to reverse a lower decision that would allow the case to come to trial.

According to those on the scene, sex (and race) discrimination is rampant among our top lawmakers.



Moving Rhodesia to Alabama

Will white Rhodesians be migrating to the Deep South? The *Washington Post* reports that a Montgomery, Ala., realtor has placed an advertisement in a Rhodesian newspaper offering to sell land in America.

Humphrey Bolling, a partner in Bolling and Wallace Realtors, told the *Post* that the classified ad in the *Rhodesian Herald* "was not meant to be racial, but just to attract people over there."

The ad reportedly reads: "Farms, ranches, plantations for sale in Alabama and Mississippi. Settle in an area where the white people think as you do and are of the same Anglo-Saxon background. Good private schools, many cultural events, close to seashore and mountains."

Ypsi socialists take one

The final results are in on the Ypsilanti, Mich., city council elections (IN THESE TIMES, Feb. 16 and March 30). Ypsi's Democratic Socialist Caucus picked up one more city council seat, giving it three of the council's 11 seats. It also ran an impressive, but losing, campaign for another seat.

A ballot proposal that would have allowed an affirmative action hiring policy for the city's fire department also went down in defeat. Typical of the campaigning on that issue was the comment from one firefighter opposing the plan: "Would you want your wife to sleep in the same fire station with 24 men?"

(Eric Jackson)

Junk food at home

There is now a newsletter that enables junkfood junkies to enjoy such things as Col. Sanders chicken or Hostess Twinkies baked right in their own kitchens.

Cooking specialist Gloria Pitzer says

she spent the last two years operating "like a chemist" to break down the recipe secrets used in America's favorite fast food products.

In addition to the Colonel's chicken, her monthly newsletter, which sells for 15 cents, tells how to duplicate Arthur Treacher's Fish and Chips, Shake 'n' Bake and even Oreo cookies. That white filling in an Oreo, for example, is merely an equal mixture of Crisco and powdered sugar, with a little gelatin and water, she reports.

The address, for those inclined: Gloria Pitzer, Pearl Beach, Michigan 48052.

Who's reading what

What is the most widely read magazine in America today? The latest figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulation show that *T.V. Guide*, selling more than 12 million copies a week, is easily the publication with the largest circulation in the U.S.

In the second place, with a circulation of 8.4 million, is *Family Circle*; followed by *Woman's Day*, the *National Enquirer* and *Penthouse*. *Playboy* trails its rival *Penthouse*, ending up in sixth place.

Reader's Digest, once the all-time leader, doesn't even rank in the top 10 anymore, finishing in 11th place after *Hustler*, which ranks tenth.

The Times complicit

Documents obtained by lawyers for the sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg indicate that the *New York Times* may have worked with the FBI and the Rosenbergs' trial judge in efforts to stop any delay of their execution.

One FBI memo quotes an N.Y. agent as saying a *Times* official, whose name was deleted, specifically offered "assistance through the *New York Times*" to stop the campaign seeking to delay the Rosenbergs' execution. That same official, following the executions offered to write an "objective book" about the case.

More than 100 U.S. law professors recently called for a Congressional investigation of alleged prejudicial behavior on the part of trial judge Irving Kaufman during and after the Rosenberg trial. The *Times*, however, criticized the professors and editorially called for an end to the "vendetta" against Kaufman.

Organic self-defense

An organic farmer in Minnesota has been found innocent of aggravated assault for shooting at a U.S. Forest Service helicopter that was spraying herbicides near his home.

A jury in Grand Marais, Minnesota deliberated for eight hours before acquitting 33 year old Harmon Seaver who admitted firing a shotgun in the direction of the helicopter.

Seaver told the jury he became enraged when he realized that the Forest Service was spraying 2,4-D from the air near his farm. He said he feared that the chemical would contaminate the stream his family uses as drinking water. Seaver also said that he aimed near but not at the chopper to scare the machine away.

The low price of murder

More than five months after an explosion at the Phillips Petroleum plant in Kansas City killed two pipefitters, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has concluded that the company was negligent, and has fined them the grand total of \$490.



Perfect job for pregnant women

Following the Supreme Court ruling that women have no legal right to disability for pregnancy, Rep. Patricia Schroder (D-Colo) announced to the Washington Press Club her idea of the perfect job for pregnant women.

According to the *Monitor*, Schroder stated, "One of the best jobs in the world for a pregnant woman would be a position on the Supreme Court. The work is sedentary and the clothing is loose fitting."

Rep. Schroder is the first member of Congress to give birth while holding office. She defined the current Court as "total isolation on a pinnacle."

(Lancaster Independent Press)

The B-1 goes up

The cost of the highly criticized B-1 Bomber has now reached more than \$100 million per plane.

Lt. Gen. Alton Slay, Deputy Air Force Chief of Staff for Research and Development told a Senate subcommittee that inflation was going to raise the total cost for 255 B-1s to \$24.8 billion, up an additional \$1.9 billion over the 1976 estimate. Each B-1 will cost \$101.6 million by that calculation.

Meanwhile, Sen. John Culver, an Iowa Democrat and strong B-1 opponent, has issued a separate report that finds that the final program cost may go up another twenty percent. That would mean that the ultimate cost per B-1 would be \$121.9 million.

(John Markoff)

Bionic save for B-1

On a slightly different front ABC's "\$6 Million Dollar Man" saved the B-1 in one mid-February show. Foreign agents from somewhere or other were bent on making a B-1 test flight look bad. That was serious, viewers were told, because "lots of people don't like the B-1." Naturally, the bionic man saved the day.

B-1 opponents - not the foreign agent type - say that the show was a not-so-subtle message of support for the controversial bomber. After all, if the baddies are against it, then it must be good.

Truth-in-Renting in Jersey

The nation's first "Truth-in-Renting Act" took effect last summer in New Jersey. The seven-section statute is written in uncommonly simple language and mandates the N.J. Department of Community Affairs to prepare and publish a statement of established legal rights and

responsibilities of tenants and landlords.

Landlords are required to distribute a copy to each of their present tenants, to all prospective tenants and must post a copy in at least one prominent location accessible to all tenants.

The current statement runs to about 15 pages and is available for \$1 from the Bureau of Housing, Dept. of Community Affairs, Box 2768, Trenton, N.J. 08626. (Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies)

Where's Faubus now?

The *New York Times* reports that inflation has put former Arkansas governor Orval Faubus, who led opposition to racial integration of public schools in Little Rock some 20 years ago, back to work. Faubus, who is 67, is working as a teller in the First National Bank of Huntsville, Ark. Faubus complains that his state retirement benefits, computed on 10 of the 12 years he spent as governor, amounting to just over \$600 a month, is not enough. He hopes to work only till August when he has a book appearing.



Ella could break your ear

If you've ever wondered how Ella Fitzgerald shatters a glass using only her voice in that TV advertisement for tape cassettes, the secret is out.

The Memorex Company, in response to allegations that the ad might be fraudulent has released an affidavit backing up its claim. The affidavit reveals that Ella's voice is amplified by the speaker system to 146 decibels.

New Scientist magazine reports that 146 decibels of any kind of sound will not only shatter glass, but will destroy eardrums and even damage other organs in the human body.



Random Samples was compiled by Doyle Niemann from accumulated news services and other sources. Contributions are welcome and should be sent c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago 60622.

IN THE WORLD

U.S. in Zaire: others do the dirty work



By Robert A. Manning

The internationalization of the conflict in Zaire seems to grow wider each day. Whether or not Coca-Cola turns out to be the secret weapon (President Mobutu has ordered 600,000 cans), the intervention by the U.S./NATO countries and a host of right-wing African states on Mobutu's behalf offers a sneak preview of the Carter administration's approach to global problem-solving and also reflects Africa's growing polarization.

Given the economic and strategic stakes involved (Zaire has 67 percent of the world's cobalt, 7 percent of its copper, one-third of its industrial diamonds plus zinc, manganese, tin, uranium, etc.—and about \$1 billion in American investment), the international rallying to Mobutu's defense hardly comes as a surprise. But the way in which it has developed is unique.

By virtually all press accounts, the rebellion underway in Zaire's Shaba province (where most of Zaire's mineral wealth is located) is an internal conflict. The rebels of the NFLC (National Front for the Liberation of the Congo) control about one-third of the former Katanga province and have begun to administer the area. They enjoy widespread popular support and have even been joined by many of Mobutu's troops.

President Carter says that there is "no hard evidence" of any direct Cuban or Angolan involvement in Zaire although the State department has accused Angola of providing "logistical support" for the offensive. Mobutu claims that the "invasion" of Shaba is part of a Soviet/Cuban offensive to dominate Africa. Although the administration responded in a swift but cautious way to Mobutu's aid requests, sending \$15 million in emergency "non-lethal" aid, Carter has so far turned down Mobutu's request for military hardware.

Considering that Zaire, which has received more than \$350 million in American economic and military aid since 1961, has been the linchpin of American strategy in Black Africa, Mobutu's statement that he is "bitterly disappointed" at the American response is understandable. Mobutu has correctly read a main current of Carter's emerging Africa policy, which has been undergoing review.

This policy has two main threads that disturb Mobutu and other rightist military dictatorships: 1) keeping an arms length from unpopular regimes and 2) rejecting the Kissinger mechanical invocation of a "Soviet threat" when the status quo is threatened. This posture is reflected in Andy Young's recent comment that "if [Mobutu] can't stop a couple of thousand Katangese, we shouldn't send the marines to help him."

But there is a third element in Carter's foreign policy upon which the first two are based: proceeding on a *multilateral* rather than unilateral basis in confronting global problems.



Mobutu

This is a key principle of the Trilateral Commission, the international think-tank of the U.S., West Europe and Japan, whose members occupy the top offices in the White House and the Defense department, the State department and the Treasury.

One of a dozen Trilateral papers on foreign policy highlights the logic evident in Carter's handling of Zaire: "U.S. domestic policies...and the unwillingness of other countries to follow its lead, rule out the same degree of American dominance that existed in the recent past. No country or group of countries now seems equipped to play a major leadership role alone. The only alternative is collective leadership."

►Trilateral crisis management.

The first thing that must be said about Carter's response to the Zaire conflict is that the aid he has sent was already budgeted, part of \$30.5 million for Zaire for this fiscal year. Thus, Carter has avoided a possible clash with Congress similar to that of the Ford administration over aid to CIA-backed groups in Angola last year.

While Carter has claimed that American aid to Zaire was not sent "in consultation with others as part of a coordinated plan," a growing body of evidence suggests that the limited American response cannot be separated from the total sum of intervention on Mobutu's behalf. It should be added that the American definition of Moroccan (and possibly Egyptian and Sudanese) involvement as not outside intervention but African solutions to African problems" smacks of Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war in Indochina.

All told, the multilateral intervention in Zaire has been an amazingly sophisticated operation—particularly considering that it has occurred *outside* the framework of global institutions (i.e., the U.N. and OAU). A few bits of the circumstantial evidence pointing to a concerted effort are:

- Carter confirmed that on Anwar

Sadat's recent visit they discussed "the entire situation in Zaire." Shortly thereafter Egypt sent a military mission to discuss sending troops.

- Morocco is closely aligned to France and the U.S., as the U.S. is a key weapons supplier (\$30 million in military aid for fiscal '77), and Morocco is required by law to obtain advance permission before using American weaponry outside Morocco.

- French President Giscard d'Estaing discussed Zaire with Cyrus Vance on his way home from the March SALT talks in Moscow—perhaps indicating the American position.

- U.S. undersecretary of State Philip Habib (No. 3 man in State) met with Giscard d'Estaing's top Africa advisor Rene Journiac, according to *Newsweek*, after Journiac returned from Zaire. The U.S. and France are also sharing intelligence information.

While it is true that these nations have their own reasons for bolstering Mobutu

—France to tighten its ties to Francophone Africa and Morocco to gain support for its losing war in the Sahara against POLISARIO guerillas—the sum total reflects a confluence of interests and appears to be the first taste of "Trilateral Crisis management."

For Africa, the conflict raises once again the limits of the OAU (which, by the way, Morocco has been boycotting) when the sticky question of resolving problems classed as "internal affairs" arises. This has been a cardinal principal of the OAU, and prevented it from acting on a host of controversial questions—Angola, the Sahara, Eritrea and now Zaire.

Many observers feel this question will be raised when the OAU meets in June in Gabon, but as Africa is increasingly polarized between the conservative states such as Zaire and friends, and the radicals such as Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Guinea, it is not likely to be resolved.

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CIA ANGOLA HEAD RESIGNS

John Stockwell, a CIA operative since 1964, recently sent a letter of resignation to the agency's new head, Admiral Stanfield Turner. Stockwell had grown up in Zaire, and after having graduated from the University of Texas and served in the U.S. Marine Corps, was recruited into CIA. Stockwell was then 27.

Stockwell spent from 1966 to 1977 in Africa, most recently as the chief of the

CIA's Angola Task Force. His disillusionment with CIA stemmed largely from his experiences there.

His letter indicts the CIA for incompetence and doubledealing, as well as for its role as an arm of American interests.

In the following excerpt from his letter, Stockwell describes to Turner his experiences in Angola and Zaire:

After Vietnam I received the assignment of chief, Angola task force. This was despite the fact that I and many other officers in the CIA and State department thought the intervention irresponsible and ill-conceived, both in terms of the advancement of United States interests, and the moral question of contributing substantially to the escalation of an already bloody civil war, when there was no possibility that we would make a full commitment and ensure the victory of our allies.

From a chess player's point of view the intervention was a blunder. In July 1975 the MPLA was clearly winning, already controlling 12 of the 15 provinces, and was thought by several responsible American officials and senators to be the best qualified to run Angola—nor was it hostile to the United States. The CIA committed \$31 million to opposing the MPLA victory, but six months later it had nevertheless decisively won, and 15,000 Cuban regular army troops were entrenched in Angola with the full sympathy of much of the Third World and the support of several influential African chiefs of state who previously had been critical of any extra-continental intervention in African affairs.

At the same time the United States was solidly discredited, having been exposed for covert military intervention in African affairs, having managed to ally itself with South Africa and having lost.

This is not Monday-morning quarterbacking. Various people foresaw all this and also predicted that the covert intervention would ultimately be exposed and curtailed by the United States Senate. I myself warned the interagency working group in October 1975 that the Zairian invasion of northern Angola would be answered by the introduction of large numbers of Cuban troops—10,000 to 15,000, I said—and would invite an eventual retaliatory invasion of Zaire from Angola.

Is anyone surprised that a year later the Angolan government has permitted freshly armed Zairian exiles to invade the Shaba

(Continued on next page.)

AFRICA



Women (left) and youth (right) fighters of the EPLF.



Ethiopians closing up shop in Eritrea

By Linda Heiden

Ethiopia's evacuation of the last foreign consulates from the Eritrean capital of Asmara last week signals what may be the final days of Ethiopian colonial rule over that East African nation. Recent Eritrean victories at Nacfa, Afabet and Tessenni, together with the growth and development of a new social system in the liberated areas, makes the possibility of continued Ethiopian control over Eritrea extremely unlikely, regardless of new last-minute Ethiopian/Soviet bloc arms agreements.

Eritrea's strategic location along the Red Sea has made the area a coveted

prize of major powers in the region for more than 400 years. Ethiopia is the latest in a succession of expansionist regimes, including the Ottoman Turks, Egyptians, Italians, and British, that have colonized the area. Resistance to these powers, together with the early development of a cash-based colonial economy, has resulted in the evolution of a common Eritrean nationality that distinguishes the colony's people today from their until-recently feudal neighbors.

Today, the liberated and semi-liberated areas, controlled by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the marxist Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), comprise more than 90 percent

of Eritrea. No part of the countryside is safe territory for even the most heavily guarded Ethiopian supply caravan. Troops find themselves limited to a handful of towns and villages and even there snipers, saboteurs and liberation front raiders have kept tensions high and morale low.

Having consolidated their hold on the countryside, Eritrean forces have now launched an offensive against Ethiopian-held urban areas. The March 21 liberation of a provincial capital, Nacfa, opened the way toward an offensive against Keren, Eritrea's second largest city.

Observers speculate that the Eritrean military victories led to Ethiopia's decision to expel the diplomatic missions from Italy, Britain, Belgium, the U.S. and the Sudan April 23. Several American military-related facilities in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, were also asked to close, and reporters from three remaining Western news agencies were given 48 hours to leave the country. The American Embassy and A.I.D. mission in Addis Ababa were not affected by the shutdown, however, and commercial and military grants and sales agreements with the U.S. remain in effect.

American State Department officials speculate that the closure and deportation orders may clear the way for closer Ethiopian relations with the U.S.S.R. and Cuba, as well as an escalation of the colonial war. The Soviet Union signed a secret arms agreement with Ethiopia's military rulers last December and unconfirmed reports tell of a recent agreement with Cuba concerning military training and advisors for the Dergue's troops.

►All liberties null and void.

The Armed Forces Coordinating Committee, properly called "the Dergue," came to power in September, 1974, after eight months of social upheavals that left the archaic feudal Selassie regime in a shambles. Its claim to being a revolutionary socialist government rests primarily on the nationalization of selected profit-making enterprises and an agrarian reform.

The Dergue has declared all democratic liberties null and void. Non-government demonstrations, strikes and rallies have been banned, and a strict curfew is in effect in the capital. Unions have been abolished, replaced by a state-controlled workers' association. Hundreds of student and labor leaders, and suspected members or sympathizers of the underground Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party have been rounded up and held without trial or summarily executed.

In Eritrea, the Dergue has committed atrocities against the civilian population: My Lai-type massacres, gang rapes, poisoned water wells, crops and villages napalmed, the establishment of free-fire zones and the use of Vietnam-style

"strategic hamlets." The Ethiopian onslaught resulted in thousands of new recruits for the liberation fronts, and a new militancy on the part of Eritrean civilians. Eritrean victories soared as the Dergue's position deteriorated, undermined by humiliating defeats in its colony and by escalating labor militancy and peasant revolts throughout Ethiopia.

Informed sources indicate that, short of foreign troop intervention, there is little chance that the Dergue can maintain its positions in Eritrea. Its position within Ethiopia appears to be only slightly less precarious.

►Differences narrow between ELF and EPLF

As the armed struggle against Ethiopian colonialism approaches final victory, a resolution of the split between the two Eritrean liberation fronts assumes a renewed urgency.

Political differences between the ELF and the marxist EPLF have narrowed considerably since a cease-fire in November 1974 ended a two and a half year war between them. Today the groups carry out frequent joint military missions, and there is an active debate concerning how best to move toward unity.

The remaining differences between the two groups emerge most clearly in their organization and administration of the liberated areas and in their approaches to building a unified liberation movement.

In ELF-controlled liberated areas, political education, land redistribution, moves toward the full participation of women and a restructuring of commercial activities have been sporadic at best. Local merchants and chiefs tend to be the elected village leaders in these areas, where little attempt has been made to change traditional social values.

The EPLF has instituted comprehensive political education programs in the villages under its control. Cooperative farming is being introduced in areas formerly controlled by foreign commercial and local feudal interests. Community elections are held, opening community decision-making processes to the peasant majority for the first time.

The ELF leadership maintains that, despite past differences, the two groups share a common ideological perspective today, and should therefore forget the past. They propose a unifying national congress, to be preceded by a one-year coordination period in which both organizations would "concentrate their efforts to create a suitable atmosphere for unity."

Rather than a hasty reunification, the EPLF calls for the formation of a united front that would allow fighters and followers of the two groups to begin working together, to exchange ideas, and develop a common outlook toward the building of a new society.

(Continued from page 9.)

province of Zaire? Is the CIA a good friend? Having encouraged Mobutu to tease the Angolan lion, will it help him repel its retaliatory charge? Can one not argue that our Angolan program provoked the present invasion of Zaire, which may well lead to its loss of the Shaba's rich copper mines?

Yes, I know you are attempting to generate token support to help Zaire meet its crisis—that you are seeking out the same French mercenaries the CIA sent into Angola in early 1976. These are the men who took the CIA money but fled the first time they encountered heavy shelling.

Some of us in the Angolan program were continuously frustrated and disappointed with headquarters' weak leadership of the field, especially its inability to control the Kinshasa station as it purchased ice plants and ships for local friends, and on one occasion tried to get the CIA to pay Mobutu \$2 million for an airplane which was worth only \$600,000. All of this, and much more, is documented in the cable traffic, if it hasn't been destroyed...

A major point was made to me when I was recruited in 1964—that the CIA was high-minded and scrupulously kept itself clean of truly dirty skulduggery such as killing and coups, etc. At that exact time the CIA was making preparations for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, who had grown up a few miles east of my own home in the Kasai.

Eventually he was killed, not by our poisons, but beaten to death, apparently by men who were loyal to men who had agency cryptonyms and received agency salaries. In death he became an eternal martyr, and by installing Mobutu in the Zairian presidency we committed ourselves to the "other side," the losing side in central and southern Africa.

We cast ourselves as the dull-witted Goliath in a world of eager young Davids. I for one have applauded as Ambassador (Andrew) Young thrashed about trying to break us loose from this role and I keenly hope President Carter will continue to support him in some new thinking about Africa.

But, one asks, has the CIA learned its lesson and mended its ways since the revelations of Watergate and the subsequent investigations? Is it now, with the help of oversight committees, policed and self-policing?

BRITAIN

British unions resist wage controls

By Mervyn Jones

British trade union leaders are now locked in a series of meetings with senior ministers—with Denis Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the key role—in an attempt to agree on a structure of wage controls for next year.

The wage year runs from August 1. The date stems from the sterling crisis of July 1975, which led the Government to take emergency economic measures and reach a hurried agreement on wage limitation with the unions. However, the time-table now enables unions to consider terms in the light of the Budget, presented in the spring (this year, March 29) and passed into law in early summer.

Inflation is, of course, the shadow over the talks. The conventional wisdom, heavily supported in the media, assumes that wage increases reflected in labor costs are the main factor in causing prices to rise. Most groups of workers—though not all—did in fact secure big increases in 1974, sometimes 35 percent, and these were plausibly presented as the cause of an inflation that, in early 1975, threatened to get utterly out of control.

Sober analysis, however, reveals several other factors in causing inflation: (1) the steep increases in commodity prices, notably oil, that to varying degrees spurred inflation in every capitalist country, above all in countries heavily dependent on imports of raw material such as Britain; (2) successive falls in the value of the pound; (3) the generous support prices paid to British farmers; (4) the drive toward quick profits, as a hedge against an uncertain future, on the part of many manufacturers and even more traders and middlemen; (5) the low productivity, rooted in failure to invest in modern plants, that prevents British industry from securing economies of scale.

Since August 1975 we have had a strictly limited rate of wage increases and inflation has nevertheless continued. Healey assured the unions that, if they would make the necessary sacrifices, inflation could be reduced to a rate of 10 percent per annum by the end of 1976. But the rate remains obstinately at 16 percent, and current forecasts hold out no hope of reaching the 10 percent level until 1978, if then.

►Return to free collective bargaining.

The past year has seen an absolute fall in the living standards of almost every wage-



The unions fear that the system of wage control may become institutionalized and may continue when there is no longer a Labor government.

earning family. No one doubts that working people have become extremely restive and wary of a renewal of wage controls. A significant pointer was a conference of shop stewards held on April 3 in Birmingham, Britain's leading industrial city.

The event was somewhat discounted in advance because it was organized by rank-and-file groups—no union leaders attended—and the political impulse came largely from Communists or other left-wingers. But 1,700 men and women showed up, a far greater number than expected; and they were all shop stewards, which means people elected in the workshops to reflect the feelings of workers at the most direct and democratic level. Without a dissenting voice, the conference demanded the scrapping of all wage restraint and a return to free collective bargaining.

It's a warning to Jack Jones, leader of Britain's biggest union, the Transport and General, which organizes unskilled workers in a wide range of industries as well as city transport workers, truck-drivers, and dockers, and also to Hugh Scanlon, leader of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (second biggest), which caters for semi-skilled and skilled workers in auto, aircraft, and manufacturing. Both men have tried hard to make their unions democratic and responsive to rank-and-file attitudes, and also to integrate the shop-steward network into the union structure. It happens, too,

that both Jones and Scanlon retire this year, and are not anxious to leave behind a memory of having got out of touch with the men and women they represent.

From the political angle, there's a fear that the system of wage control may become institutionalized and may continue when we no longer have a Labor government. The slogan—"Return to free collective bargaining"—could be translated as "Return to free collective bargaining before the Tories come to power."

►Skilled workers want differentials.

A complicating factor is this: thanks to the influence of Jack Jones, who represents mainly unskilled and lower-paid workers, the controls of the past two years have narrowed the gap between such workers and the skilled categories. The latter argue that the process has gone so far that there's no longer an advantage in serving an apprenticeship to acquire a skill. When I talked recently to Ray Fraser, leader of the recent strike of skilled men in Leyland Cars, he cited two cases in his personal knowledge of men who had quit the industry—one to become a taxi-driver and the other an insurance salesman.

Small unions representing highly skilled workers are pressing hard to have differentials restored. An example is the Power Station Engineers, with a membership of only 4,000, but doing such vital tasks that if they struck they could swiftly bring Britain to a standstill. Their leader, John Lyons, stated at their recent con-

ference that they would need wage rises of 57 percent to regain the relative position they enjoyed in 1974. As a reasonable man, he said, he would settle for 14 percent. But Healey is thinking of a 5 percent ceiling.

Skilled workers belonging to large unions—mainly Scanlon's AUEW—are the most dissatisfied, feeling that their interests are no longer protected. They have staged two strikes with a demand for separate bargaining rights, a demand resisted by both employers and union leaders. The first was the strike of Leyland toolroom workers. When Scanlon attended a meeting to urge a return to work, he was met by chanting of "Go home, you bum!" Currently, the engineers who maintain British Airways' flight of planes are on strike for the same demand.

Strictly speaking, they have refused night-shift working (essential at a major airport) and overtime. BA management, reacting toughly, told them to consider themselves dismissed if they wouldn't work the customary hours; they now assert that they are locked out. In an unprecedented move, management and unions have agreed on a plan to have the aircraft serviced by supervisors. "A blacklegs' charter," declare the protesting workers. The unhappy Scanlon, a party to the agreement, has seen it repudiated by his own principal official for the district covering London Airport.

To make matters worse, Healey's budget has been badly received. It is designed to ease the position of managers and professionals, who have lobbied hard to show how heavily taxed they are compared to their counterparts in European nations and the U.S. Healey's tax remissions will put about £3 (\$5.25) a week in the pocket of an average worker, but £20 (\$35) in the pocket of an executive. Hardly a good prelude to getting union agreement to a new wage-restraint deal.

Negotiations will go on through the summer. Union conferences, notably that of the T & G in July, will be crucial; there will finally have to be a specific TUC conference to endorse any agreement reached. Some forecasters reckon that the ultimate deal will be far looser, in the sense of providing for exceptions and differentials, than its two predecessors. Others predict there will be no deal at all.

►Mervyn Jones has worked as assistant editor of *The Tribune* and *The Statesman*. He has recently published a book on Britain's offshore oil industry.

INTERNATIONAL SHORTS

Franco's Ghost

Spanish prime minister Adolfo Suarez's legalization of the Communist Party sparked several cabinet resignations and, according to the rightwing Madrid newspaper *El Alcazar*, prompted a threat from the army. While agreeing reluctantly to go along with the party's legalization, the Supreme Military Council charged that the government's action was a "degradation of the monarchy" and warned that "the army is ready to resolve problems by other means if necessary."

Don't Call Buenos Aires

According to *Pacific News Service*, Argentine workers, unable to protest publicly a long-awaited government wage adjustment, have sabotaged Buenos Aires's phone system and staged production slowdowns in many industries. While inflation raged at 340 percent last year—and continues to go up 10 percent every month—Economics Minister Jose Martinez de Hoz has authorized only a 2 percent wage hike.

South Africa demo

In Soweto, police wounded three students in trying to put down a demonstration by 2000 blacks against the government's announcement of a 40 to 80 percent rise in rents. The rent increases will mean that most Soweto blacks will have to spend at least half their monthly income on rent.

Government officials said the increases were necessary to offset a \$13 million deficit caused by damage from last year's June riots. But the demonstrators charged that the rent increases, along with earlier increases in rail fares, were an attempt to drive blacks out of the urban townships to the bantustans. A target of the demonstrators was the Urban Bantu Council, which the Soweto Student's Representative Council accused of complicity with the government policies.

Vietnamese in Paris

Four days of talks between French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong culminated in the creation of joint

commission to promise economic, cultural, and political relations and a commitment by France to providing \$600 million in loans and credits. Pham Van Dong's warm welcome in Paris has, according to *Interviews*, created an "environment of reconciliation" as American-Vietnamese talks on normalization begin in Paris this Tuesday.

CIA in Australia

Angered by revelations in a Los Angeles courtroom, Australian Labor party leaders and trade unionists were demanding that prime minister Malcolm Fraser call for an investigation of CIA activities in Australia. Christopher J. Boyce, who is on trial in Los Angeles for providing CIA secrets to the Soviet Union, told the court of CIA attempts to infiltrate and manipulate the leadership of Australian transportation unions. In 1975, the CIA had attempted to suppress a strike by these unions. The judge in the case upheld a government motion to prevent Boyce from explaining the activity in Australia.

He's our bastard

In a *New Republic* interview with Jose Figueres, former president of Costa Rica, Figueres explains the role of the CIA and Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in his overthrow:

"During my first presidency [1953-1957] the top representative of the CIA in Costa Rica enjoyed all the confidence of my government—so much so that he was sometimes even present at cabinet meetings . . . At the same time, of course, the CIA man was reporting all of our activities to Anastasio Somoza . . . It's a paradoxical thing. I had very good relations with their cultural people, while other sections of the agency were fulfilling a promise to Somoza to help overthrow my government in 1955. It was a commitment made to Somoza as his price for aiding in the CIA's overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala in 1953. Somoza was a West Point man, very well thought of by all branches of the American government, not only the CIA. An American president once said of Somoza, 'He's a bastard, but he's our bastard.'"

United NOW enters its second decade



Scenes from the Detroit NOW convention: Left: Betty Friedan, one of NOW's officers give a sign they hope to popularize that represents the three additional (left to right, Action Vice-President Arlie Scott, President Eleanor Smeal, T. pictured: Administrative Vice-President Martha Buck.) Right: Valerie Caffrey, minority women.

The convention was vaguely reminiscent of last summer's Democratic national convention in its determination to show the world NOW's unity, even to the detail of a shoo-in presidential candidate and a hotly contested vice presidential post... NOW's reasons were similar to the Democrats': the press had used internal NOW disputes as evidence in its case that the women's movement is on its last legs.

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

Detroit. The Equal Rights Amendment will be passed, the women's movement is not dead, and National Organization for Women is unified and as strong as ever. Those were the major messages of NOW's national convention, held here April 22-24. Over 2,000 of NOW's 55,000 members attended. Celebrating NOW's tenth anniversary, the convention slogan was "On to the Second Decade."

Eleanor Cutri Smeal of Pittsburgh, former chair of NOW's board, was elected president. Arlie Scott of Boston won the office of action vice president; Martha Buck of Ohio that of administrative vice president.

In spite of constant rain showers over the 1,200 ebullient marchers at the convention kickoff rally in support of the ERA in Detroit's Kennedy Plaza April 22, it was clear no one was going to dampen NOW's parade. Mayor Coleman Young, himself a NOW member, welcomed the group. The city council and state legislature passed resolutions in sup-

port of the convention. Detroit renamed Washington Boulevard, "NOW Boulevard."

The key theme of the rally's speakers was that the overwhelming majority of Americans, men and women, support equal rights for women. That majority, they said, must be mobilized to ratify the ERA. They introduced a three-fingered "equal rights for women" signal they hope to make as popular as the labor movement fist of solidarity or the peace movement's "V."

Maryland Rep. Barbara Mikulski talked about the need for solidarity with working women. Striking bank cleaners picketing a bank adjacent to the rally, members of Service Employees International Union, joined the rally and afterwards a small NOW contingent joined their picket line.

Later, at Cobo Hall convention center, NOW members could attend any of hundreds of workshops, ranging from those on fighting for the ERA or against rape to "Women—Backbone of an Oppressive Economic System," "Curing Math Anxiety Through Feminis..." Do

an Action: Demonstrations, Rallies, Pickets."

Some workshops, like those on ERA, discussed old concerns of NOW, evaluating past action and planning new strategies. Others, like "Sexual Harassment on the Job," broke new ground for NOW.

In that workshop NOW compliance coordinator Dee Albert described how "NOW and other women's groups made rape be considered a crime. Now we have to convince the American public that sexual harassment at work is a crime."

Others focused on personal development. "I think I'm either too shy or come on too strong," said one woman who attended the assertiveness training workshop.

Feminist entertainment was provided nightly. Lily Tomlin brought her one-woman revue the night of April 24; at the close she signed autographs as a NOW fundraiser, wearing an ERA t-shirt.

A streamlined process and new bylaws made floor debate and voting go much more smoothly than in the past. In 1975 in Philadelphia, one plenary scheduled to end at 9:00 dragged on until 2:00 and members were forced to wait in line all night to vote.

By contrast, business moved quickly in Detroit. "Who says this organization hasn't matured; we're 45 minutes ahead of schedule," commented retiring president Karen De Crow at one point.

It was NOW's first delegated convention. Six hundred and fifty of the 2,000 conferees were voting, which speeded up elections considerably. The delegate system, however, may have led to a higher proportion of women who'd been in NOW longer attending the convention, which may partly explain an apparent lower attendance by minority women.

The delegates were also voting for fewer officers, only five instead of the nine officers and 25 board members they selected in 1975. The 1975 election, though confusing, led to several races being won by minority women, while NOW's 1977 officers are all white. Board elections, however, will be held at nine regional conferences in June. "I'm confident minority women will be elected to the new board, just as they were on the past board," said Eleanor Smeal.

The convention was vaguely reminiscent of last summer's Democratic national convention in its determination to show the world its unity, even to the detail of a shoo-in presidential candidate and a hotly contested vice presidential post. NOW's reasons were similar to the Democrats': the press had used internal NOW disputes as evidence in its case that the women's movement is on its last legs.

At the 1975 convention, a group calling

itself the "Majority Caucus" emerged. They called for full employment, more attention to women in "stereotypic women's jobs" as opposed to getting a few women into high positions, more attention to Third World women and a strong stance on lesbian rights.

A group opposing them felt NOW should concentrate on a few issues, like ERA, and downplay more controversial issues such as lesbian rights. Some of the second group formed another caucus called Womensurge, saying, "The middle class will not be guilt-tripped any more."

In the midst of these internal fights, NOW called "Alice Doesn't Day" in October 1975, an attempt to have a one-day strike of all women. Many chapters disagreed with the idea and didn't work on it. As one news report said, "Alice Doesn't Didn't." That failure, combined with NOW's turn inward to rewrite bylaws and a drop in membership to 35,000 signaled the end of the women's movement to the press.

Eleanor Smeal, formerly a leader of the Majority Caucus, says the rewriting of bylaws took care of some of the problems. The old rules, she says, were written in 1967 when NOW had a few hundred members and were too cumbersome to democratically run an organization with the 1975 membership of 60,000.

"We set up a commission that included representatives from all viewpoints. The process of working together helped tremendously. The ultimate goals of all of us were the same, but we differed on tactics and structure. The bylaws took care of the structure, and we compromised on tactics," she says.

One compromise was a convention resolution authorizing creation of political action committees to contribute to feminist candidates' campaigns, a step many in NOW had been leery of.

Betty Friedan, who had helped start Womensurge, believes the FBI and CIA, who it has recently been revealed had infiltrated NOW, were fanning divisions. Looking back on the rifts, Friedan says, "There was no precedent for the woman's movement. It was so new, you could only trust your own experience. We've learned a lot in the past year and a half about how not to be divided so easily."

One controversy that could have shattered the unity was the behavior of Socialist Worker's party around some resolutions they raised.

In the past year many SWP members have joined NOW, playing a leading role in many large, but organizationally weak chapters. (Some chapters have over a thousand members, but only a tiny fraction are active.)

Prior to the convention, SWP circulated a resolution, "Defending Women's



ers ten years ago; Center: NOW's new
as needed for final ratification of the ERA
er Eve Norman, Secretary Sandy Roth. Not
Trenton N.J. NOW speaks on the issue of

Photos by Torie Osborn & Jane Melnick

NOW resolutions

Rights in the Second Decade," calling for defense of the rights of "Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian, Native American and poor women." Special attention, it said, should be paid to the right to abortion, affirmative action gains, maternity benefits, child care, ERA, gay rights and the end of forced sterilization schemes.

NOW was already on record and active on all these issues. *Now Times*, a west coast NOW newsletter, said that most of it was "the women's movement equivalent of motherhood and apple pie." The operational part of the resolution was a call for a national pro-ERA demonstration next fall, with an implied opposition to other NOW ERA tactics, such as lobbying.

SWP members and resolution supporters attended every workshop, from rape to lesbian rights to labor, and attempted to focus discussion on the resolution. If anything, the tactic seemed to lose adherents for the resolution; one delegate complained they were "filibustering."

When plenaries began, resolution supporters attempted to turn every plenary topic to their resolution, monopolizing much of the floor discussion.

The SWP resolution itself never reached the floor (there were over 75 resolutions under consideration) but a revised version, emphasizing the aspects relating to minority women, did. When that resolution was voted down by the convention (an alternate resolution establishing a commission of minority women was adopted), several black and Chicana supporters took the mikes. They denounced NOW. "You have shown the press and the world you are a racist organization," said one.

They then sought out members of the press and announced a meeting of the Third World Caucus, which would give the press a statement.

This action, claiming to speak for all minority women in NOW, angered the bulk of the NOW members at the convention.

Minority NOW members who were not part of the SWP caucused. Valerie Caffee, co-coordinator of Trenton (N.J.) NOW, spoke to the convention. She acknowledged that SWP had attacked NOW in a vulnerable spot. Of the 2,000 NOW members at the conference, at most 50 were minority women, and many of those were aligned with the SWP.

"That group does not speak for me or for all minority women," said Caffee. "They have been using the issue of minority rights as a tool to further the agenda of their own organization. It's a divide-and-conquer maneuver to separate and destroy NOW."

Caffee told *IN THESE TIMES* that making the speech was "distasteful, but I don't like being lied to." She said she and other minority members of NOW

felt the organization could do much more to recruit minority women and address their issues. "But I resent the SWP using that," she said.

The convention then overwhelmingly passed a resolution protesting "attempts by SWP to use NOW as a vehicle to place before the public the agenda of that organization."

SWP members accused NOW of red-baiting, of condemning them because they are socialists. The carefully worded resolution, however, protested SWP's actions within NOW, not their socialism.

"No statement of this organization is being made against socialists. Many NOW members are socialists, as well as Democrats and Republicans, and no political affiliation is excluded from NOW," said president Smeal.

The SWP has worked hard for the passage of ERA in the last several years. But they also have a history of maneuvers similar to those at the NOW convention. In 1970-72, they "intervened," as they describe it, in NOW and many small women's liberation organizations. They won a few allies, but also destroyed several groups.

One SWP member told *IN THESE TIMES* they didn't really expect their resolution to pass, but that they at least "raised the issues."

Judy Siebel of Pennsylvania NOW talked with *IN THESE TIMES* about how the SWP has "made socialism a bad word." She said although she and a number of other NOW women had expressed sympathies for socialism in the past, "No one's going to want to say that now. It will be a long time before you could have something in NOW, say an educational conference on socialism, that people could be even about."

The SWP's insistence on turning every debate to their resolution may have indirectly contributed to the show of unity at the NOW convention. NOW members who had differences on some issues united on every question; "I think it made people move to vote a lot faster," says Smeal.

NOW members left the convention feeling strong. With membership nearly up to its 1975 high, a more workable structure and a priority on the passage of the ERA, the organization seems revitalized.

Convention resolutions make clear NOW's continued concern with rights of women workers, women who work in the home, minority women and lesbians. Implementing measures around such issues may fall to task force heads, however, as the national officers concentrate on ERA. Smeal has also pledged a better recruitment and orientation plan, which she expects will raise membership still higher.

All in all, as the delegates chanted at the end, "NOW lives."

The ERA is NOW's top priority. A newly elected "strike force" will meet soon to plan strategy, expected to include targeting state legislators for election and defeat, pickets, rallies, marches and a commitment to a new militance. NOW is also expected to initiate "economic sanctions" against states like Nevada and Florida which have not ratified the ERA and have economies vulnerable to a convention and tourist boycott.

In Florida NOW's ERA organizers were denounced as outside agitators. "We're going to show them how much they depend on people coming down there from ratified states. Miami Beach is not in good shape economically," says Smeal.

Over 20 other resolutions passed the convention. Among them:

- Working for displaced homemaker legislation, federally and on a state level. The legislation would set up job-training and other programs to benefit women whose only work experience is in the home and who are left without support due to death or divorce. Such women are currently not eligible for social security if under 65, or welfare if their children are grown.

NOW also pledged to fight for making full-time homemakers eligible for unemployment compensation and to establish a homemakers' "bill of rights" that would give each partner in a household legal right to equal portions of household income.

"We want to eliminate the whole tradition of women over 21 as dependent human beings," says Smeal.

In part these measures are aimed at anti-ERA accusations that the women's movement ignores the needs of "housewives." Smeal, herself a homemaker, said the percentage of full time homemakers in NOW was close to that in the general population.

- A package of goals for women workers sponsored by NOW's Labor Task Force. Included are NOW strategies for union organizing and for overturning the Bennett amendment, which will make it possible to sue under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act for "equal pay for work of comparable value."

"This would be a major breakthrough in closing the wage gap," says Sara Nelson, NOW Labor Task Force coordinator.

Also included in the package were support for legislation for full employment, a comprehensive child care act, and a guaranteed minimum income to replace the present welfare system. The resolution also called for "domestic and international redistribution of wealth."

Continued NOW support for the J.P. Stevens boycott and continued probing of the Karen Silkwood case were also

mandated. Silkwood was a nuclear worker who died mysteriously on her way to a press interview about unsafe practices at her plant.

Sara Nelson says the Labor Task Force is one of NOW's most active. While NOW has always been strong on legislation and litigation for working women, "what's emerging now is work to stimulate organizing into unions, so women workers can get some power into their own hands. We can't sit back and wait for the union movement to find us; that won't happen," she says.

Teresa Scott Rankin, another task force member, sees it as a bridge between the women's movement, which is sometimes anti-union, and the union movement, which is sometimes anti-woman.

- A resolution establishing a national committee on minority women. Jacqueline Washington, a black NOW member, believes a lot more could have been done to implement the Majority Caucus' 1975 call to involve more minority women in NOW.

"We need to join with black women on issues that affect them most, like forced sterilization and childcare. We need to produce literature with black faces, literature in Spanish," she says.

She points out chapters with an outreach recruiting program, such as her own, have brought in more minority women.

The racism she's sometimes found in NOW makes her angry, but nevertheless, she wants to stay in NOW. "Racism is everywhere. The problems women have are even greater for minority women, so I say, why not be part of the largest women's civil rights organization."

Washington also believes black groups never would have pushed to include minority women in affirmative action plans until pressure from NOW forced them into it.

- A resolution reaffirming lesbian rights as a priority for NOW. "I know every bit of pain it took to get the gay rights resolution passed in 1975," says Lesbian Task Force head Kay Whitlock. "Nationally, NOW has not equivocated in the past two years on lesbian rights, and lesbians don't have to be apologetic within NOW. The key now is to get entire chapters, not just local lesbian task forces, working on our issues."

NOW is expected to join the forces opposing the anti-gay coalition in Dade County, Fla., that is trying to block gay rights legislation there.

The 20 other resolutions that were passed leave NOW in its perennial quandary about priorities. Much depends on yet-to-be appointed task force heads, whose personal commitment and energy are generally prime factors in NOW moving in the various areas.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Carter plan energizes corporate power

After President Carter presented his energy program to the American people and Congress, the *New York Times* commented that on this issue Carter "has projected a vigor reminiscent of the trust-busting boldness of the first Roosevelt's 'new nationalism.'" And indeed he has, in more ways than one. For as the great satirist, Finley Peter Dunne, observed in 1902, Theodore Roosevelt was a master at the art of dissembling. Dunne's immortal character, Mr. Dooley, nailed Roosevelt to his own hypocrisy on the "Trusts" better than most historians then or since:

"The trusts," says he [TR] "are the hideous monsters of the men who have done so much to make our country great. On the one hand, I would stamp them under foot. On the other hand, not so fast."

Like Roosevelt battling the public's distrust of business, Carter has attacked the energy question with much drama and gravity. And like Roosevelt, whose verbal attacks on "bad" trusts ultimately strengthened the hand (and the purse) of the large corporations, so Carter's energy proposals will reinforce the oil and utilities companies in extending their grip on coal, gas nuclear and solar energy while perpetuating the pattern of dependence on the automobile and other major users of oil.

Carter's style in presenting his energy program is the tip-off to its pro-corporate intent.

The American people are skeptical about the existence of an energy crisis. They suspect that they have been manipulated by the oil and utilities companies into paying exorbitant prices for gas and oil, both of which are available in more than adequate quantities for immediate needs. Carter and his advisers know that an energy program could not gain public approval or have a chance in Congress unless it appeared to be fair to the consumer and tough on the oil companies.

►Sweetening the pill

Carter has sweetened his high-priced pill with promises of tax rebates to consumers and public scrutiny of corporate oil and gas profits. Like TR, he is cultivating an impression of big business hostility to his program while fortifying corporate power in the energy field.

As the *New York Times* reported in its page one story on April 25, the head of a big oil company, a spokesman for the coal industry (now owned largely by the oil companies) and a representative of privately owned utilities all attacked details of Carter's program on NBC's "Meet the Press." But they endorsed the overall program.

This, the *Times* reporter observed, "appeared to confirm that the energy industries have grasped what the political grapevine here has been saying—that the White House would welcome a broadside attack by big energy companies because it would tend to build support for the program in Congress and divert public attention from the fact that the essence of the Carter plan is higher energy prices."

The essence of Carter's plan is higher prices paid into the corporations. He hopes to make them palatable by appeals to conservation, combined with the promise of a tax on the higher prices and a rebate to lower income working people.

But while the Administration remains adamant on rising prices, it has already permitted high officials, including energy advisor James R. Schlesinger, to back-track on the rebate promise and to hint that the tax revenues will in part be channeled into corporate investment subsidies, which means rebates to the corporations themselves.

One can see the corporate lobbyists



waiting patiently to move in on Congress as it begins consideration of the package.

The working poor have few effective lobbyists. Nor can the unions compete with corporate lobbyists. The most likely prospect, then, is a final energy program that will contribute mightily to inflation and the hardships already facing the working people and the unemployed.

►Avoids the basics

Beyond that, and despite its superficial attractiveness to environmentalists and ecologists, Carter's program will not significantly reduce gasoline consumption, while rising industrial use of coal will add to air pollution. The program concentrates on the final stages of consumption and treats inadequately or ignores the social structure of energy production and use.

Forty years of economic policies putting the automobile industry's welfare above social well being have created a pattern of dependency on autos that cannot be reversed by higher gasoline prices. That pattern includes massive suburbanization, encouraged by financial policies that favored new construction of suburban single family homes and eroded inner city housing and employment facilities; the systematic destruction of urban and interurban mass transit systems; subsidization of the automobile companies through massive federally funded highway construction. Carter's program addresses none of these.

To reduce the use of the automobile on a significant scale it will be necessary to provide a safe, comfortable, and inexpensive alternative form of transportation, and eventually a change in the living patterns created in the post-World War II years. That will require massive funding and publicly owned and operated transit systems as a minimal starting point.

Carter did not say a word about mass transit as an alternative. He did not

because as the Chief Executive of the corporate state he predicates everything on the investment and profit priorities of the great corporations, of which the auto and oil corporations are among the most powerful. To propose substantial alternative forms of transportation would threaten both the immediate interests of these corporate groups and would raise the question of public ownership and control, since private development of mass transit is no longer profitable.

►Political control of the market

An unavoidable aspect of the Carter plan—which has led many in small business, and a few of the more ideological or less favored in big business to cry "Socialism"—is its admission that the "free market" yields neither economic efficiency nor socially desired results. Carter, and for the most part the large corporation executives have conceded that major problems like energy can be solved only through political control of the market. The question now becomes what kind of political control, for what purposes, and in whose interest.

Carter's answer is clear: in the interest of centralized corporate power and at the expense—both in living standards and in popular initiative—of the nation's working people, which is to say, of the public welfare and democratic values.

Socialists, then are faced with the challenge of developing an alternative to Carter's plans that will accord with the interests of the general public, with practical standards of economic and social efficiency, and with principles of democratic as against corporate planning.

The most obvious starting place is the public ownership and development of oil, gas and coal production, with the revenues from these sources going to the public development of renewable energy alternatives, whether solar, wind, geothermal,

or nuclear. Such a public system should be established by and accountable to the city councils, state legislatures, and Congress.

Integral to this system should be the comprehensive development of public mass transit, such as already in effect in Europe (though not adequate there either). Urban and interurban mass transit could provide both alternative means of transportation and hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of jobs in construction, maintenance, and service.

New city systems could be locally controlled and developed with additional federal funding transferred from the military budget at no new cost to taxpayers, but to much greater social utility.

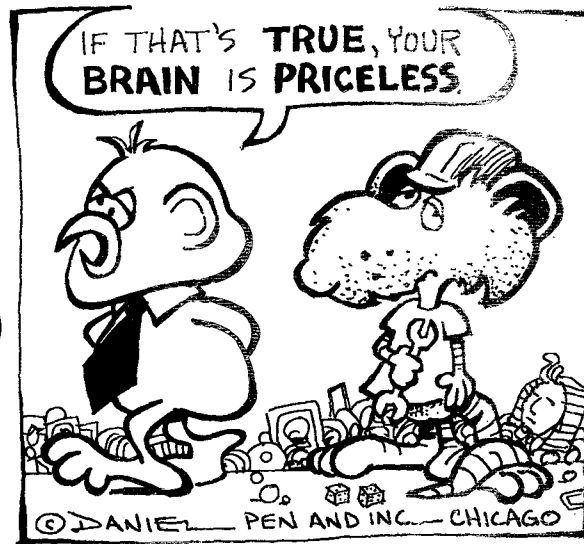
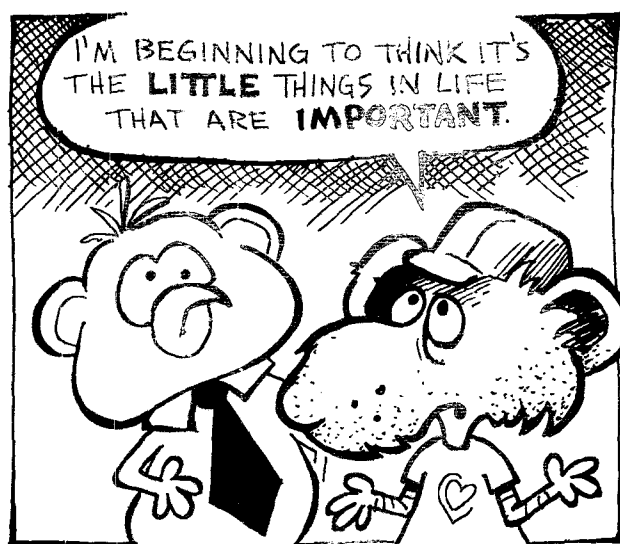
Interurban systems could be developed within an expanded and democratized version of AMTRAK, in which the roadbeds, as well as the rolling stock should be publicly owned and maintained.

Socialists can and should begin developing plans along the lines of an integrated energy-transportation system, and begin organizing for them on national, state and local levels.

Behind Carter's verbal mask of old moral pieties stand the centralized control and paternalistic domination of modern corporate power. Real popular self-reliance, democratic determination, and decentralized control and initiative, serving the general welfare, can best be attained through a publicly owned, federally structured economy run by the people at their places of work and through their elected legislative branches.

An integrated energy-transportation system is one of the better places for the American people to start transforming old pieties into new verities that only socialism can make real. In the process, they may recognize the face of Rockefeller, DuPont and the other latter-day Robber Barons behind Carter's smiling Rooseveltian mask.

THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS AND JABBERWOK



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Letters

Hite reports on her reviews

Editor:

Thank you so much for Torie Osborn's beautiful review of my book. I was delighted to receive it, and have showed it to many people.

In These Times' review was the very first—out of over a hundred reviews—to mention the political/social aspects of the analysis.

I would like to clarify a point in your review. I disagree with the analysis that biology originally determined the female condition; and just so, I do not feel that technology and population growth have created the conditions for the liberation of women from biological dictates. I do not believe that men are in power because they are physically stronger, or because women are dependent during pregnancy. The earliest families we know of have no "fathers"; in fact, the word was not even known in the earliest Indo-Europeans. The earliest families consisted of the mothers, the aunts, the sisters and brothers and uncles and children - more like some of the primate families we know.

It seems clear that there were societies earlier than patriarchal societies, although to call them "matriarchal" seems a mistake. Perhaps they were neither, but something entirely different. Civilization as complex as our own, at least philosophically, goes back at least 40,000 years, according to some recent research. I believe the society we know, with its patriarchal/hierarchical (capitalistic?) structure is an historical phenomenon that needs to be further researched and analyzed and set into a proper historical framework.

It seems clear to me that women's second-class status did not grow out of our biology, but rather the needs of a patriarchal society—i.e., you can't have inheritance through men without men owning a vessel (woman) through which to bear children. Thus monogamous intercourse was institutionalized by the Hebrew tribes returning from the Babylonian exile c. 3000 years ago.

In other words, patriarchy is a limited, historical phenomenon, and not a biological phenomenon.

—Shere Hite
New York

Is Walton a scab?

Editor:

What happened to Bill Walton's "advocacy of causes... even on the basketball court" (*ITT*, April 27) when he and his Portland Blazer teammates ignored the NBA umpires' picketline?

—H. Boal
Winnetka, Ill.

Driven or fled?

Editor:

Recently you have received a number of letters concerning whether or not the Palestinian refugees fled or were driven out of their homes by the Zionists in 1948. The research of Maxime Rodinson, Don Peretz and others reveals that the reality was a combination of both phenomena. The more important question concerns the right of these refugees to return to their homes. The Israeli policy was clearly stated by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion on July 16, 1948, "No Arab refugees should be admitted back."

A more humane and just approach was suggested by Eric Fromm: "It is often said that the Arabs fled, that they left the country voluntarily, and that they therefore bear the responsibility for losing their property and their land. But in general international law, the principle holds true that no citizen loses his property or his right to citizenship; and the citizenship right is defacto, a right in which the Arabs in Israel have much more legitimacy than the Jews. Just because the Arabs fled? Since when is that punishable by confiscation of property and by being barred from returning to the land on which a people's forefathers have lived for generations."

Needless to say it is now impossible to restore the particular homes and property in Israel to the Palestinian refugees. But a just settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute should grant the Palestinian refugees the right of repatriation and compensation as well as the creation of an autonomous Palestinian state alongside of Israel.

—Simon Rosenblum
Johnson City, N.Y.

More on rape

Editor:

Joshua Dressler's column about the Inez Garcia case (*ITT*, Apr. 6) made good sense, but I must object to his last statement: "The rapist is not shot down in the street by the woman, but instead is forced to go to trial where the entire society can express its revulsion for, and condemnation of, his action." Dressler has obviously never been to a rape trial. I am the director of a rape crisis center and have had occasion to attend numerous trials. Never once have I seen the rapist condemned or revulsion expressed. In fact, it is the victim who feels this way. Several victims wonder afterwards why they ever decided to have anything to do with the criminal justice system. I do not blame them. I am not sure I would report a rape to the police and I certainly would never have the illusion that the trial would serve the purpose Dressler suggests.

I don't have any answers: shooting the guy down is not a good solution, besides it is unrealistic. On the other hand, trials are unsatisfactory, at least under this system of justice.

—Roxanne Park
Seattle, Wa.

The answer to cancer

Editor:

Salvador Luria's article "Cancer and Circulatory Diseases are Diseases of Development" (*ITT*, Apr. 13) omits a few basic facts. 80% of cancers are environmentally caused and thus preventable. Cancer-producing substances are by-products of our industrial processes. Stress has been shown to be the most important risk factor in circulatory disease. Social stress is an integral part of the way our working and living conditions are organized. For example, unemployment, oppressive bureaucracies, deteriorating and overcrowded conditions in cities, and job dissatisfaction being stressful, cause biological responses leading not only to circulatory disease, but other diseases as well.

It is misleading to explain cancer and circulatory diseases solely in terms of developmental biology. This explanation focuses attention on factors outside of human control and thus contributes to our sense of powerlessness. Technology can be used to reduce environmental cancer substances. We can change our society to reduce stress. Health and medical information must expose the social basis of disease. This information opens up ways we all can work for healthy social change.

—Jim Schlosser
Syracuse, N.Y.

The new storm troopers?

Editor:

On Friday morning, April 18, I was selling *The Militant* in front of Eberhards supermarket located in the Eastown area of Grand Rapids, Michigan. A car full of people circled around the corner, they then parked across the street and a man got out of the car. He walked over and said he was an organizer of the U.S. Labor party. He was selling their newspaper New Solidarity. He started hassling me, kept asking me my name, where our meetings were held, how often we met and how many there were of us. I answered none of his questions. He then crossed the street to his car.

I turned my back towards them and went on selling *The Militant*. A few minutes later I was surrounded by five people. They grabbed at my papers, yelled at me to give them my name and tried to push me into the busy street. I told them to move out of my way. The organizer yelled that "when Rockefeller tells us to move we say fuck you, now you tell us to move and we are not going to say fuck you—we are going to knock you down right here on this street and rape you sister." He grabbed my jacket, I told him if he laid a hand on me he would be on the sidewalk looking up at me. He just looked at me and then walked across the street to his car. Two Labor Party women came from the back of the building and started selling their paper. People had been watching them harass me and would not buy the paper. A young Black man came out of the

supermarket. He saw what they were doing to me, walked over, took my arm and led me out of their circle. He offered to stay with me until my ride picked me up. I thanked him and told him I would be all right. He then went back into the store to tell people not to buy the Labor Party paper.

—Jody R.
Grand Rapids, Mi.

A gift she enjoys

Editor:

In answer to your letter asking for contributions. Am sorry that I can't help you. If I could, I sure would. My grandson, who lives in Amherst, Mass. gave me *In These Times* as a Christmas gift. I am 89 years old, live on a small S.S. pension.

I like your paper. We need it. When my subscription runs out, we will see if I am still able to read. Reading is my favorite pastime.

—Anna Dizard
Duluth

Beyond him

Editor:

The Dialog on Eurocommunism between Leland Neuberg and Diana Johnstone (*ITT*, Mar. 23) was both frank and provocative.

While on the whole I agree with Johnstone's opinion that "nobody knows how at this point... to make a socialist revolution," it still seems to me that the Eurocommunists are way out in right field. An excellent example of this is seen in their contrived explanation of the Soviet Union's drift back to capitalism as merely results of "bureaucratic deformations," inheritance from the Tsarist past, and "personal despotism of Stalin."

Besides, on the important questions of capitalist division between mental and manual labor, its goal of both an expansionist and a debt economy, the issue of workers' control of the workplace beyond just formal nationalizations, and a host of other critical problems under monopoly capitalism, the Eurocommunist parties offer no innovative visions. How they can continue calling themselves Communists is beyond me.

—Danny Li
Honolulu

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

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Joshua Dressler

Burger Court challenged on rights in Congress

In my first column in these pages I alluded to the growing number of reactionary decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court. These decisions have increased police power or decreased individual civil rights, while closing federal court doors to citizens who wish to complain about their diminishing rights.

I indicated that one of the few remaining short-term national remedies to short circuit these decisions would be the enactment of federal legislation to give back by statute what the Nixon Court has taken away by fiat.

Former Justice Robert Jackson wrote that the Supreme Court was "not final because we are infallible, but we are infallible because we are final." I suggested that the Supreme Court is not the final source of power, but that the people are, and that we can and must force our will on our elected representatives.

It is gratifying to report that a start in the right direction is being made by Senators Charles McC. Mathias and Edward Brooke and Representative Parren J. Mitchell, who have introduced S-35 and HR-4514. Known as the "Civil Rights Improvement Act of 1977," this legislation, although complicated, would generally undo Court decisions that have decimated the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1871, the statute that implements the citi-

zens' Fourteenth Amendment rights against loss of life, liberty and property without due process of law.

The need for such legislation is obvious.

As Sen. Mathias stated in a recent speech, "almost every week now when the Court is sitting we receive some kind of troubling reminder that the battle for civil rights and civil liberties is never won." He noted that whereas under Earl Warren the Court "became the conscience of the country, . . . a not-so-funny thing happened on the way to our Bicentennial. The Courthouse doors once flung so wide, began little by little to close again."

Under the proposed statute, the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1871 would be given new life. The bill would expressly overrule three of the most egregious Court rulings of last year dealing with the Civil Rights Act.

It would overrule *Paul v. Davis*, in which a Louisville citizen, whose name and photograph was circulated by police to countless merchants as a "convicted shoplifter," and who was nothing of the kind, was told by the Court that he had no protection under federal law. His reputation was not part of one's "liberty" or "property" as defined in the Constitution, the Court said. S-35 would place a person's reputation within our

protected rights.

Imbler v. Pachtman would also be undone. The Court decided in that case that a prosecutor was immune from suit even when he or she knowingly used perjured testimony to obtain a murder conviction.

Also, *Rizzo v. Goode* would be overruled. That case denied urban citizens the right to obtain injunctions against future police misconduct even upon showing regular and continuing unconstitutional past behavior by law enforcement officials.

The legislation is good, and must be supported. But it does not go far enough. First of all, federal court doors are being shut even beyond the 1871 Federal Civil Rights Act. Last year the Court denied access to federal courts for state court defendants who wish to have excluded evidence illegally seized by police. That decision, and others like it, are left untouched. It leaves police undeterred in their illegalities.

More substantially, access to federal courts is meaningless if there are no rights left to protect in the courts. This statute does nothing to undercut a substantial number of Court decisions that re-interpret the Constitution so as to make lawsuits to enforce our constitutional rights worthless.

For example, in recent years, the Court



has held that federal police no longer need to obtain warrants prior to arrests in public places, even when they have time to obtain them. (Soon they will decide if that rule pertains to arrests in homes.) The right of citizens to be told prior to police questioning of their rights to an attorney and to remain silent has been seriously diminished. The Court had denied citizens the right to counsel at Grand Jury hearings and on Supreme Court appeals. It has permitted Grand Juries the power indefinitely to jail people who refuse to answer questions on the grounds of self-incrimination. It has permitted reduction of the size of juries, and permitted less-than-unanimous jury convictions. Most of these and other lost rights can be regained by statute.

S-35, even though limited, is crucial legislation. It indicates an apparent awareness of some in Congress to the need to give citizens, especially the poor and non-white, as Julian Bond has put it, "the dim feeling that we [can] really help bring about change."

Let your Congressional representatives know you wish to disclaim the Nixon Court's weapon to give the police unlimited power. Support S-35 and HR-4514.

Joshua Dressler is a lawyer who teaches at the University of San Fernando Valley College of Law, Los Angeles. His column appears regularly.

Simon Rosenblum

The Balkanization of Canada would serve nobody's purpose

On November 15, the province of Quebec elected the pro-independence Parti Quebecois (PQ) and threw a scare into the rest of Canada. Initial reactions are hasty and often ill tempered. Enough time has passed by now, however, more calmly to evaluate the meaning and implications of the PQ victory.

First of all, the election of the PQ was not a vote for separatism. The PQ won only a plurality of 41 percent of the popular vote—up from 24 percent in 1970 and 30 percent in 1973. This constitutes a majority of French-speaking voters. Polls indicate that only about one-third of the 41 percent PQ vote was hardcore separatist and that Quebec voters were far more concerned with the dismal state of the Quebec economy than language rights or separatism. The PQ was the only alternative party that seemed capable of forming a government.

In the election campaign the PQ itself toned down its commitment to independence and campaigned instead on a reform-oriented social welfare program. PQ leader Rene Levesque stumped the province promising an extension of medical coverage, solutions to the housing crisis and improvements in industrial working conditions.

So much for the election itself. The more crucial question is what effect the PQ victory will have on the movement towards separatism. On this there are conflicting tendencies. The most evident is that separatism will be significantly boosted by having a government that propagandizes regularly for independence. Levesque says a provincial referendum on separatism will be held in two or three years and there is no doubt that the PQ government will devote considerable energies and resources to winning that vote.

On the other hand there may be an

It is doubtful that Confederation can be saved by gradually chipping away at its foundation. The result would be political fragmentation based upon a destructive regionalism.

historical irony. The election of a pro-independence government may actually dampen the separatist initiative. By protecting language rights in Quebec, the PQ may actually defuse some of the separatist impulse.

Even more significantly, the PQ must concern itself with administration of the province as well as its larger dreams of changing history. The economic constraints on the Quebec government are considerable, and the present international recession only intensifies them.

The unknown factor in this scenario is the trade union movement. The victory of the PQ occurred within the context of one of the most intense periods of social agitation in Canadian and Quebec history, beginning with the first general strike in 1972. The PQ government will have to play a subtle balancing-act towards organized labor, while trying to isolate labor's socialist left-wing.

The PQ is aware that its eventual success depends on its ability to mobilize a united trade movement behind its policies. Since the election the PQ has raised the minimum wage to three dollars an hour, increased funding for day-care centers and children's health, declared its intention to obtain control of the asbestos industry and committed itself to tighter work safety rules.

These measures and declarations will encourage a favorable attitude toward the government by the trade unions. Will the confidence continue? Much will depend on the extent to which the PQ can reconcile its plans for social reform with the constraints that result from the current

economic crisis. A recent editorial in the Montreal-based left journal *Our Generation* saw the following development to be quite likely:

If significant socio-economic goals are sacrificed to nationalist goals, genuine left social democratic tendencies within the PQ will eventually be forced to break away and link-up with sections of the trade union movement in the form of a labour party, the formation of which would not likely repudiate nationalist achievements but would lay stress on socio-economic gains from a class base. The present and somewhat ambiguous class orientation of PQ nationalism would thus be exposed and a more thorough-going struggle with neo-capitalism in Quebec would be initiated.

Meanwhile, the rest of Canada can still not sit back and rest assured that Quebec will remain in Confederation. The federal government must show the people of Quebec that Canada has something to offer.

Prime Minister Trudeau speaks of necessary concessions to Quebec but what this means beyond a person from Quebec being able to visit his or her member of Parliament in Ottawa is difficult to figure out. What then is necessary?

The most common response is more autonomy and "special status" for Quebec in matters of cultural and social affairs. This has been tried before and only begs the real question of how Canada can be a home for both English and French speaking nationalities. It is doubt-

ful that Confederation can be saved by gradually chipping away at its foundation. The result of this would be political fragmentation based upon a destructive regionalism.

The balkanization of Canada would serve nobody's purpose other than a new generation of politicians and government technocrats. Canada would wind up as ten republics totally at the mercy of multinational corporations and more firmly than ever within the ambit of the American empire.

If more autonomy is not a viable alternative, then it becomes necessary to come to grips with the more fundamental concern of language. Bilingualism as introduced by the federal government has been a superficial approach to the serious problems of bringing Canada's two major groups closer together. Shoving the French language down the throats of middle-aged English-Canadian civil servants creates only a shallow bi-culturalism and only results in arousing resentment and antagonism.

What is needed from the English-Canadian people and their governments is a serious declaration of intent towards a more meaningful biculturalism. This is only possible through a commitment from the public school system to make the upcoming generation fluent in both languages.

There are enough European examples to indicate that such a program can be successful. But the desire and the resources are a necessity. The next Federal election will undoubtedly have Quebec as a major issue. Trudeau may well be successful in turning his high-sounding but vague federalism into an effective weapon against the bankrupt Tories. The danger, of course, is that Trudeau may win Canada while Canada loses Quebec.



Simon Rosenblum is a Canadian who is a graduate student at SUNY, Binghamton, N.Y.

Frances Moore Lappé/Joe Collins

Corporate profit motive needs pest control

Would protecting the environment from pesticides mean hunger for millions whose food could have been protected by them?

Vast quantities of pesticides are used in the U.S.—about 1.2 billion pounds annually—six pounds for every American, more than 30 percent of the world's total consumption. These chemicals are not applied mainly to American farmland. In fact, nearly half the pesticides used in the U.S. are applied to golf courses, parks and lawns.

Even more of an eye-opener is the fact that only about 5 percent of this nation's crop and pasture land is treated with insecticides, 15 percent with weedkillers, and 0.5 percent with fungicides. Of insecticides, which account for the major portion of all pesticides, more than half are used on nonfood crops such as cotton.

Are pesticides in Third World countries helping to feed the hungry? According to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N., over 800 million pounds of pesticides are used annually in underdeveloped countries. The great majority, however, are applied to nonfood crops, principally cotton, and to "fruits and vegetables grown under plantation conditions for exports."

But what about the poisons that are used in food agriculture? Have the chemicals worked? Are they effective? Are they necessary? The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) estimates that 30 years ago farmers used 50 million pounds of pesticides and lost 7 percent of their crop before harvest. Farmers today use 12 times more pesticides and lose twice as much of their crops before harvest. Furthermore, the USDA estimates that even if all pesticides were eliminated, all crop loss due to pests (insects, pathogens, weeds, mammals and birds) would only increase by seven percentage points. How can this be explained?

A field is not just a battlefield of pest versus plant. A closer look reveals a highly complex, interacting system of hundreds

of different species of insects and other organisms occupying diverse ecological niches. A dead bug is not the only good bug. Some insects eat only part of the crop plant, some are parasites or flesh-eating predators that eat other insects. The plant-eating species certainly do eat the crop plants. But studies show that the vast majority of species do not cause sufficient damage to justify the cost of insecticides. Their numbers are kept below economic injury levels by the action of parasites and predators. But when these natural controls are destroyed by insecticides that do not distinguish friend from foe, many ordinarily insignificant insects are able to multiply faster than their predators.

Basic environmental security, not to mention truly effective pest control, clearly requires pesticides that are *target-specific*. The effects of each new pesticide on nontarget insects, other wildlife, and people should be carefully studied; chemical corporation's interests go in exactly the opposite direction. In order to maximize profit margins and expand sales, a chemical company seeks to minimize research and marketing costs and to come up with pesticides that kill the *broadest* spectrum of pests.

Pesticide sales are further expanded by promoting "100 percent" pest elimination. Aiming for 100 percent eradication, however, is extremely expensive, unnecessary, often fails, is likely to be dangerous and can result in costly "overkills."

To maximize profits, the companies promote *scheduled* spraying, instead of spraying in response to a need. Scheduled spraying means greater and more predictable sales. It is much easier for a Dow Chemical manager to judge how much pesticide to produce and distribute to different outlets if he can simply multiply the number of acres his customers own by a given quantity per acre. That way he does not have to take into account predictions about how bad a particular pest really is going to be in a given year.

Some American farmers have begun to realize the serious environmental and health damage involved in these techniques. In addition, they are spending more and getting fewer and fewer results. Graham County Arizona cotton growers, working with scientists from the University of Arizona, sent trained scouts into the fields to measure pest levels to see if and when spraying was necessary. Pesticide expenditures dropped tenfold, as did the pest damage. Including fees paid to "pest scouts," total pest control costs were less than one fifth of the scheduled approach. (At this point chemical companies put enormous, and successful pressure on the highest levels of the University administration to force termination of the program.) Similar experiments on 42 cotton and 39 citrus farms in California reduced pesticide expenditures by more than 60 percent.

In some cases, pesticides are used not to improve yield or quality, but only appearance. Take the lowly "thrips." Thrips are minute pests that do not reduce yields, harm trees, or lower the nutritional value of citrus fruits. Its singular offense is causing a light scar on the citrus skin. In California citrus groves, tons of pesticides are applied several times each year in the war against the humble thrips. The thrips develop resistance, but the growers dump on more and more deadly pesticide, raising costs in the process. Other, once innocuous insects, such as red mites, become real pests in the absence of their natural enemies. Farmworkers contract chronic and acute illnesses due to exposure to Parathion and other organophosphates used in place of DDT for thrips control. No one yet knows the effects on consumers.

Are there any alternatives? Indeed so. Now that tampering with complex natural systems is seen to be possibly more dangerous than the pests being controlled, such alternatives are being viewed in a new light.

For decades, pests that attacked corn

were controlled by annually alternating corn with a crop like soybean in the same field. Corn rootworm, for example, will not eat the soybean plant and cannot survive a year without corn. Ironically, certain weedkillers, now commonly used in corn cultivation in the United States, prevent this kind of rotation by remaining in the soil and killing noncorn plants the next season. Farmers relying on herbicides must then plant corn year after year on the same land, a practice that in itself tends to increase insects, disease and weeds, while depleting the soil. Worse still, the corn rootworm has now developed nearly total resistance to major pesticides.

Introducing controlled populations of natural predators and parasites into the fields is another non-chemical method with potential. After a pesticide disaster in Peru's Canete Valley, growers sought to restore natural controls. They imported numerous insects including thirty million wasps and twenty gallons of ladybugs to control leaf rollers, bollworms and aphids.

In Egyptian cotton fields the tradition was to collect by hand the egg masses of the cotton leafworm. After growers put their faith (and money) into insecticides, yields declined dramatically; only a return to hand collection of egg masses shows hope for yield increases.

Tragically, pest control technology is dominated by a small number of large chemical corporations that will turn profits only if they continue to make farmers and concerned people everywhere believe that human survival depends on the increased use of their products.

Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins co-direct the Institute for Food and Development Policy (2588 Mission Street, San Francisco, California 94110). Lappé is the author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. Collins assisted Richard Barnett and Ronald Muller in researching and writing *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporation*. Their new book, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity* will be published in June. The authors are grateful to David Kinley III for assistance in preparing this article.



Jews and Arabs: toward a two-state solution

By Myron Perlman and Robbie Skeist
(for Chutzpah, a Chicago socialist Jewish collective)

Israel! Palestine! These words arouse much passion, confusion, and anger, particularly among American socialists. The sharpness of the debate stems largely from the belief on each side that to justify one people's right to self-determination is to deny the right of others.

Discussion within this context is destructive. It encourages the slinging back and forth of simplistic slogans rather than the thoughtful development of a position. It undercuts Israeli and Palestinian peace forces and guarantees that most of the American left will make no contribution to peace or socialism in the Middle East.

There are two legitimate and conflicting claims to self-determination in the portion of historic Palestine lying west of the Jordan River (the part east of the Jordan, once part of Mandate Palestine, is fought over by Jordan and the PLO). Many leftists in this country have accepted the most rigid PLO position and deny Israel's right to exist. This is wrong, unworkable and racist.

Israel is the result of the Jewish people's struggle for self-determination and freedom in Europe and the Middle East. Westerners are acquainted with the Nazi Holocaust and the fate of Jews throughout Europe. What one doesn't usually hear about is the oppression of the Jews in Arab countries. Religious discrimination and economic harassment along with fears of rape and murder hastened the emigration to Israel after 1948.

Israel's strengths include providing a

Israel is the result of the Jewish people's struggle for self-determination and freedom in Europe and the Middle East... Palestinian Arabs are a people with a long history of oppression—by Israel and the Arab States.

home for many Jews, a multi-party political system and democratic rights with input from a spectrum of socialist forces, the kibbutz movement, and agricultural progress. Israel's problems include the "social gap" (i.e., a class society), sexism, poor treatment of Jews from Arab and African lands, discrimination against Israeli Arabs, and the continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza (captured in the 1967 War). Many groups in Israel are working to correct these injustices.

Palestinian Arabs are a people with a long history of oppression—by Israel and the Arab states. In spite of past dispersal, discrimination in many Arab countries, and extreme hardships in refugee camps, the Palestinian people affirm that they are a people with the right to self-determination and a state. We agree.

Key problems with the PLO are revealed by examining their National Cov-

enant, the basis for unity of the coalition of groups in the PLO. The Covenant denies that Jews are a people with a right to self-determination or a state. It calls for the end of the "Nazi, racist," Israel. It states clearly that the "secular, democratic state" that some American leftists (naively or maliciously) support would only allow Palestinian self-determination as part of an Arab fatherland. Jews present in Palestine before 1917 would be allowed to live as a "religious" minority (many Jews are atheists, but still part of the Jewish people). It is racist for the PLO to deny Jewish peoplehood. It is insulting and ridiculous to expect Israeli Jews to give up their state and self-determination.

Some leftists support the Covenant with their simplistic slogans. This encourages an all-out war on the Jews of Israel and anyone so callous to any people does not merit the label socialist.

Socialists should give critical support

to both movements for national self-determination.

What about the role of the big powers? Israel was supported in its creation by the Soviet Union; now it is overly dependent on the U.S. Both the U.S. and the USSR are trying to manipulate the Palestinian movement. When both Israel and the Palestinians have achieved self-determination and security, American and Soviet influence in the region will be weakened. To leave either party unsatisfied guarantees upheaval and constant big power intervention.

There are some Israelis and Palestinians actively working for a two-state solution. An Israeli coalition of leftists and "realists" has formed the Israel-Palestine Peace Council. The Council affirms Israel's existence and urges the creation of an independent Palestine on the West Bank and Gaza. At Paris meetings arranged by leftist French Jews the Council met with representatives of the PLO. General Matti Peled, spokesman for the Council, reported that some forces within the PLO are considering recognizing Israel.

The official positions of the Israeli government and the PLO remain non-recognition of the other's right to a state. This makes it all the more crucial for socialists to work for self-determination and peace for both Israel and Palestine.

This is a bare skeleton of our position. Our special *Chutzpah* supplement, "Israel and the Palestinians" is available for 25¢, or as part of a full copy of the journal for 50¢ from *Chutzpah*, P.O.B. 60142, Chicago, Ill., 60660.

DIALOG

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Rooting against the home team

By Louis Kampf

Boston. The baseball season opened the other day. I thought you might have missed the news. After all, Jimmy Carter, the nation's number one fan (think of all the peanuts sold during a ballgame) made no public statement about it. Nixon or Ford would have done better, comparing the baseball diamond to the infield of life, exhorting all Americans to win, yet play fair, just as they did on the playing fields of Vietnam.

I was hoping Carter might at least tell us something about baseball commissioner Bowie Kuhn's plan to send an all-star team to Cuba. Did the National Security Council really get into a big fight about it? Is it true that Secretary of State Vance is a Red Sox fan, and therefore pressured Kuhn into ordering the Yankees to decline Fidel's invitation to play in Cuba? Or is it, as Carl Ogelsby and other who support a northeastern "Yankee" versus a sunbelt "Cowboy" interpretation of contemporary history might suggest, that Carter is not about to let a team named the Yankees get the jump on the Texas Rangers?

Carter did not speak. Instead, here in Boston, we got the usual opening day extravaganza. A United States Marine color guard marched all the way to the outfield to protect the flag: after all, last year's near disaster in Chicago, where Rick Monday, a patriotic Cub outfielder, prevented a crazed freak from stomping on old glory, might be repeated. A soprano, quaveringly out of tune, whined the Star Spangled Banner while the players, right hand over heart, scratched their asses with the left. Some dignitary threw out the first ball, nearly decapitating Pudge Fisk, the Red Sox's clean-living, hard-fighting catcher. Then the ump cried "play ball" and another exciting (gripping? thrilling? heart-thumping?) season started.

Fans, I confess. Most of that opening day stuff I made up. I wasn't anywhere near Fenway Park. I haven't been to a live major league baseball game since 1962, when a student of mine who happened to be the sister of a Baltimore Oriole relief pitcher gave me a free ticket for a box seat right behind the dugout. Nor did I watch the game on television, which makes me feel guilty, since channel 38 paid the Red Sox \$2 million to allow me to cheer for Freddy Lynn in my living room. But I'm sure I got the proceeding pretty straight, though it

Don't these all-American fans like free enterprise? Probably they do. But there are other things to life, as old Tim's knuckles showed me—forty years of catching for little more than esthetic reward.

might have been a baritone doing the Star Spangled Banner.

I confess yet more. Though baseball stadiums revolt me, I am gripped by baseball. I care. Waking up during the night I watch Pete Reiser stealing home on an embarrassed Oscar Judd's triple-pump. It was 1946 at Ebbets Field in Brooklyn and I was playing hookey. Yes, I was really there.

So why does baseball still grab me, turning me into a child? I don't worry the matter too much: few fans do. But it's worth some thought. Let me get at it from left field or rather, the cliffs stretching behind the Polo Grounds, the New York Giants' homefield. Neither the team nor the ballpark still exist, of course. The Giants have moved, long ago, to San Francisco, and the Polo Grounds has been replaced by a typically brutal housing project.

During the 1940's some of us would sit on top of those cliffs in upper Harlem and watch the game inside the stadium. You could see second and third base, and pretty well make out what was going on.

We kids were usually joined by a group of old-timers, former semi-pros who, like us, could not cough up the twenty-five cents that would allow them entrance to the bleachers.

One trivial encounter has stuck in my memory for more than thirty years. Old Tim, grumpy and in his sixties, was arguing with me about the comparative merits of Gus Mancuso and Ernie (the Shnozz) Lombardi, both catchers. Suddenly he spread out his hands an inch from my nose. The fingers and knuckles were gnarled like the trunk of an ancient oak. "These," he said grimly,

"are from forty years of foul-tips." So much for my expertise.

Those hands. I promised myself never to be a catcher. Yet I admired the old bastard. He loved, really loved, the game. He was an ignorant bigot, hissing about that Hebe left-fielder (Goody Rosen), the damn Dago shortstop (Frank Crosetti), or the big Jig catcher (Josh Gibson). But during the baseball season his life had meaning, and his knowledge of the sport's art was exquisite and encyclopedic. He rooted for the Giants, though he belittled their skills: things were better in John McGraw's days.

I loved listening to him in spite of myself. I was a 15-year-old who had just read the *Communist Manifesto*, and felt contempt for this old man's childish concerns. Yet I knew that I shared his passions (what would Marx think?). And, to a degree, I still do—though by now I've read *Capital*. Occasionally I wonder what happened to Tim when the Giants moved to San Francisco for bigger bucks.

I found a sneaky way out of being a Marxist who yet shared Tim's passion: rooting against the home team. I still do. Since moving to Massachusetts in 1958 I have steadily rooted against the Red Sox. Except for 1967 and 1975, when they've won pennants, I've met with a good deal of success.

On opening day this year many fans joined me in my perversity: the Sox got booed noisily. The faithful bleacher rats had their own reasons. Yet their passionate anger is in league with my snooty cynicism.

SELL CAMPBELL. BRING BACK \$1.50 BLEACHERS. So read the legend on a sign carried by the faithful. Bill Campbell is a relief pitcher signed by the Sox for more than a million dollars.

That's how much his skills brought on the open market.

Free enterprise was belatedly (by 150 years or so) imposed on baseball last year by the courts. Players, the judge said, were no longer the absolute property of the teams they played for. The market rules: those who have skills can sell; those with capital can buy. Each day the sports pages are full of the latest news from the player exchange.

So one reason Campbell got booed is that he's a millionaire. The fans will continue to boo the other wealthy commodities in baseball uniforms—especially if they don't win.

"These people want production," says Captain Carl Yastrzemski, "and they want it now." Captain Carl, a management favorite during the players' strike, understands the nature of the market place.

Don't these all-American fans like free enterprise? Probably they do. But there are other things to life, as old Tim's knuckles showed me—forty years of catching for little more than esthetic reward; the wisdom of three score expended atop a cliff; the lack of 25 cents keeping first base and the outfield out of sight.

The bleacher rats might understand that. So they show up on opening day to express their resentment at passion and loyalty being demystified by a million dollars. When Shoeless Joe Jackson turned out to be involved in the betting scandal of 1919, a small boy approached him. "Say it ain't so Joe," he cried. Say it ain't so say the Red Sox boobbirds to Bill Campbell and anyone else who'll listen.

One day, perhaps, those fanatics in the bleachers — occasionally ignorant, often racist, prone to violence, yet sentimentalists over beauty—will absorb the lesson Tim taught me. Their anger is my anger; their obsession I share. They too might learn to stay away from the ballpark. Or better yet, take it over.

Louis Kampf lives in Boston and teaches at MIT.

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IN THESE TIMES

(off the record)

By Sidney Blumenthal and Danny Schechter

With this issue, IN THESE TIMES inaugurates a new column of media criticism. The column will appear every few weeks.

Bright Young Things

After the cinematic success of Woodward and Bernstein's *All the President's Men* applications to journalism schools have skyrocketed. The general impression is that every budding journalist longs to emulate a crusading, investigative model.

The first full-scale portrait of American journalists, on the other hand, paints a more complex picture. *The News People*, by John W. C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski and William W. Bowman (University of Illinois Press), estimates that there are 69,500 media workers scrounging around city halls state houses and PTA meetings for items their editors might regard as news.

Only 3.9 percent of all reporters are black, and one-third of these work in black publications; 39 percent are WASPS. Not surprisingly, most reporters also come from the middle or upper-middle class, are men and live in big cities.

"The affairs of established groups in the society are virtually always defined as more newsworthy than those of minorities and disadvantaged groups," the authors of *The News People* note.

The image of the profession that young reporters have is quickly dispelled by reality. In the end, *The Front Page* was more read than *All the President's Men*.

Perhaps a quarter of experienced young journalists wonder why they are working at this calling. They begin their careers hoping to become a Seymour Hersh, but after a short time on the job learn they must submit to hacks in positions of power above them. As *The News People* puts it: "The most promising and well-trained young persons being attracted into the field are inspired by an image of professional practice which in large part is incompatible with organizational realities." That is to say, the old journalism still thrives—the hack is back.

Of course, for the ultimately alienated or most committed journalists there is always the alternative press to turn to. When *The News People's* data was collected the alternative press was at its height; it was 1971. the median income of alternative reporters sampled was \$35 a week. That's an alternative?

Whose World?

On the streets of Boston and New York clean-cut youths are hawking a newspaper called the *News World* for a dime. If you don't have a dime they'll give it to you for free.

News World is a slick paper, with color photos illustrating UPI dispatches. There are sports and living pages, as well as comics. The op-ed page features syndicated columnists such as Michael Novak. Syndicated North American Newspaper Alliance opinion pieces also appear.

Nowhere in this sheet, however, is it

noted that it is the organ of the Unification Church of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon.

Judging from its straight, conservative tone the paper seems little different from most dailies published in medium-sized American cities. Yet the *News World* has hardly any advertising. It must be a costly venture for the South Korean CIA, which maintains close ties to the Moonies.

Among other things the *News World* demonstrates that the KCIA political perspective is not much different from that of run-of-the-mill American dailies. A major difference is that the US papers run neo-conservative blather without a subsidy.

Ideological Advisor

Objectivity is the watchword of the press. Without a rigorously detached, neutral point of view the media's credibility would be shot.

Editors always disdain what they call "ideology," something they consider heavy-handed and forced. They tirelessly point out that this "objectivity" is what distinguishes the Free World press from that of the rest of the planet.

Yet when professional anti-communist Bertram Wolfe died in March his obituary noted that he had the honor of serving as the Chief of the Ideological Advisory Unit for the International Broadcast Division of the State Department.

What exactly is an "ideological advisor?" Wolfe spent most of his life railing against the pervasive influence of commissars in the Soviet Union. Was he not a commissar in his own right?

Wolfe, in many ways, was a man of an earlier time, however. Although there are probably ideological advisors on the government payroll today, the true commissars of capitalism today are to be found in media advertising departments.

At the most recent conference of the Associated Press Managing Editors, 350 newspaper editors were informed that they had better listen more to their marketing directors, even concerning news, or face circulation losses. "The problem is that many editors bristle at the slightest attempt by advertising or market research people to make suggestions on editorial content," Harold R. Lifvendahl, vice president and director of sales at the *Chicago Tribune*, said.

Lifvendahl and his fellow media marketers evidently define freedom of the press as the freedom to sell and consume. This is their fundamental ideological principle, although they prefer to call it consumer targeting. "The First Amendment guarantees freedom of the press, but it doesn't require people to read newspapers," Lifvendahl said. "If we don't satisfy our readers, someone else will."

Reliable Sources

Well-known capitalist roader, John Rodney, associate publisher of *American Home* magazine, declares, "The masses

are getting classier and the classes are getting massier." We leave interpretation of this to more theoretical minds.

Junk News

What is the news equivalent of a Twinkie? Is it Wayne Hays' philandering? Any Carter's killer nannie? John Brademas, the Democratic Whip of the House of Representatives, recently complained that the press corps devotes too much space and time to running after "junk news, the sex and scandal...the gossip and soap operas." Trivial reporting, he felt, had taken precedence over serious information-gathering. Instead of slogging through obscure but important committee meetings, reporters are out hunting for the great white whale that might win them a Pulitzer—something, say, on the order of finding a key Senator in bed with someone other than his wife.

One wonders whether Brademas is equally concerned that there has not been enough coverage of Korean pay-offs to congressmen. Brademas himself has admitted to having received Korean favors.

Never to be accused of originality, NBC Night News news-reader John Chancellor took up the call several weeks after Brademas. He said too many media outlets were feeding audiences "editorial junk food." And who is responsible for this predicament? Chancellor, the schoolmasterly anchor man for the Kissinger/Ford network, blames the audience.

"Newspapers and radio and television stations are giving people what they want—editorial junk food," he says.

Chancellor, and others residing in high places—like the top of the RCA building—feel they must condescend to get the message across. Chancellor offers nutritional advice. "Journalists are charged with the responsibility to give nourishment as well as entertainment." What is the news equivalent of granola?

The New York Times Company, publisher of "the newspaper of record," apparently has not taken Chancellor's lesson to heart. While beefing up their daily paper with every kind of soft feature, they have also entered the "junk food" market with a magazine called *US*, intended to compete with *People*. *US* is all about people who are famous for being famous; the magazine gives them more publicity to satisfy the voracious appetite of a public that can't get enough of Farrah Fawcett-Majors. Undoubtedly, the *Times'* product will eventually be justified as the gossip of record.

Meanwhile, James Reston, the platitudinous *Times* columnist, gravely suggests newspapers shouldn't cover terrorists who take hostages. After all, it only encourages them.

A Word to Readers

Obviously, we cannot survey every publication in the country. We would appreciate seeing clippings from papers and magazines illustrating lies, distortions, editorial flip-flops, and other media virtues. Also, we'd like to see items highlighting media machinations. Send material c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago 60622.

The authors are Boston journalists. Sidney Blumenthal is the editor of *Government by Gunplay* (New American Library). Danny Schechter is the news dissector/director of WBCN-FM radio.

Yiddish Marxist daily celebrates 55 years

What is probably the oldest Marxian socialist daily newspaper still in existence in the U.S.—the Yiddish-language *Morning Freiheit*—celebrated its 55th anniversary early in April with a rousingly successful banquet that also marked the 85th birthday of its still-vigorous editor, Paul Novick.

The paper was founded as an organ of the Jewish Federation of the Communist Party on April 2, 1922, some two years before the birth of the party's official English-language organ, *The Daily Worker*.

By the mid-1920s, CP language groups were publishing some 22 newspapers, eight of which were dailies. Of the handful that have survived, *The Freiheit* is the only daily. (The CP's English-language organ - now *The Daily World* - did not publish as a daily for about a decade, from early 1958).

For the past 20 years, *The Freiheit* has been an independent left socialist paper, at odds with the U.S. Communist Party in ways that have aligned it with the Communist parties of Italy, France, Spain, Japan and other departees from the Stalinist path. It is perhaps the only daily newspaper in the country with a political outlook sympathetic to what has been inaccurately labelled "Euro-communism."

In its early years *The Freiheit's* editorial leadership was buffeted by the factional conflicts that then rent the American party. Its founding editor, Moissaye Olgin, was shunted aside after a couple of years, but resumed the editorship in 1929 and served until his death in 1939. He was succeeded by Novick, who was associated with the paper from its inception. Novick received his baptism in the fires of the 1905 revolution as a youth of 13, and participated in the 1917 revolution in Russia. He is now in his 38th year as *Freiheit* editor.

Five years ago, at age 80, Novick was finally expelled from the Communist Party after repeated clashes over the *Freiheit's* insistence upon criticizing per-

sistent, officially condoned, anti-Semitic practices and statements in the Soviet Union (*ITT* Jan. 26-Feb. 1) and its position on Israel and the Mideast conflict.

In the 1920s and 1930s *The Freiheit* was influential in the organization of garment, fur, printing, Jewish theatrical and many other unions with substantial numbers of Jewish workers, and was an important factor in the development of left-wing caucuses in these unions. Many of the 800 who attended the anniversary banquet on April 10 had been participants in the union drives backed by the paper over the last half century. The Fur Workers Joint Council and the Jewish Actors Union officially sent representatives to the affair, which was addressed by Abe Feinglass, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen's Union, with which the Furriers Union merged some years ago. Members and retired leaders of the furniture, needle trades, painters and carpenters unions were also on hand.

During the McCarthy period Novick was hauled before both the House Un-American Activities and the McCarthy Senate Committee, and efforts were made to cancel his citizenship. More recently, he and *The Freiheit* have been assailed from another quarter—the Soviet Jewish bi-monthly publication, *Sovietische Haimland*—for apostasy. The Soviet publication's attack included the claim that *The Freiheit* is able to keep going because upper class Jews who can afford large contributions have replaced its workingclass readership. As noted by speakers at the banquet, the paper, always under constant attack from the right, is now also the target of a section of the left because, according to Novick, it is "Loyal to socialism with a human face." The attack appears to have inspired many of its workingclass readership to expand their contributions to the paper; over \$20,000 was raised at the banquet.

—Max Gordon



Laurie Liefer/LNS

A way out of the crisis of the cities

By David Moberg

THE FISCAL CRISIS OF AMERICAN CITIES

Edited by Roger E. Alcaly and David Mermelstein
Vintage paperback, \$5.95

THE CITIES WEALTH

By the Community Ownership Organizing Project
Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, \$2.50

SECOND ANNUAL PUBLIC POLICY READER

Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, \$7.50

Finding the best way out of the current "crisis of the cities" depends a great deal on understanding the way the cities got into their mess.

Those who see the decline of the older cities of the Northeast and Midwest as a natural, inevitable process assume that death is near. They only dispute the merits of mercy-killing.

Those who blame the greedy urban poor and upstart city workers have a ready answer: take their money away. Is mismanagement by politicians the problem? Then, the answer runs, put a tough executive in charge, preferably one with business experience who is not accountable to distracting voters.

Readers of the generally perceptive and well-researched articles collected in *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities* will be pointed in the direction of different answers. There isn't unanimity of opinion among the writers of these pieces, some of which are new and some of which are reprints. Their political perspectives range from liberal to socialist.

Most of the writers, however, show in different ways how the crisis, although triggered by recent events, has been long in the making. At every point it has involved issues of who controls the wealth of the country and how they use the cities to further enrich themselves.

Class relationships in the development of the city don't exactly look like class relationships in the workplace, but the authors show many of the ways our cities express the long history of American social classes.

►Change starts at home.

If that history leads to dismay about the present, then turn to some of the volumes published by the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, the awkward name for a young but growing group of local political activists and officeholders who think significant change

can start in everybody's home town or neighborhood.

The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities focuses on New York with good reason. The country's premier city with currently premier financial problems, New York is also, as many contributors argue, serving as an object lesson to scare other cities into a new austerity.

As in all past depressions, the depression that started in 1974-75 led to city fiscal problems. The crunch came for New York when bankers and a rich elite of investors refused to buy the city's bonds or extend it other credit, even though they had long encouraged and profited from massive municipal debt. The bankers, fearing failure of their own rickety institutions, went on strike against New York and withheld their money.

Wasn't New York a bad risk, wisely avoided? It was certainly no worse a risk than many of the banks, Lockheed, the Real Estate Investment Trusts and many other business ventures weakened by the depression. However, William Tabb writes, "Only New York is told to pay up. Quite simply, New York is the only place the banks can get their money, raise their rates. They negotiate reductions with other bad risks. Lockheed, as New York, was a social decision made by the powerful.... Austerity in New York is a lesson to all. It helps nationally to transfer resources away from social needs, weakens municipal unionism, and redistributes capital to the corporate sector."

►Capital controls the cities in many ways.

Bankers and corporate executives now rule New York directly through the Emergency Financial Control Board. However, several historical essays show how the needs of capital accumulation have somewhat more indirectly shaped the cities, their space, their economy, their buildings and their transportation from the early post-colonial Commercial City to the late 19th and early 20th century Industrial City (such as Chicago) to the Corporate City (such as Houston) of the present.

Landlords, bankers and builders have used city powers and policies to raise land values. Merchants and rich residents have used the city to keep "undesirables" at a distance. Businessmen and professionals have even managed to arrange the administration of recent services for the poor, aging or otherwise needy—such as day care, Medicaid and nursing homes—

so they can profit handsomely from the public treasury.

Meanwhile the recipients of second-rate services are blamed, the city either decays or burns and the enriched entrepreneurs of human misery metaphorically fiddle in the suburbs.

►Austerity hurts the city.

One important theme in several articles stresses the damage done to the city's economic vitality, adaptability and capacity to absorb new waves of immigrants by the destruction of small businesses, urban manufacturing and neighborhood economic institutions.

Also, the new municipal belt-tightening makes matters worse. The city had become the main new source of employment. Layoffs of 40,000 New York city workers probably resulted in nearly the same number of layoffs in private businesses.

The ripples of destruction go further. With economic decline comes a rise in crime and demands on public services of all types, less revenue to deal with growing needs and more crises.

Is the city simply too poor to save itself? Nonsense, several writers answer. The cities have vast wealth, but it is not put to productive use, held mainly by rich speculators or unnecessarily drained off. Jack Newfield passionately details several major cases of "legal graft" where businesses ripped off the city to the tune of over \$1 billion in the past few years. Saving that would have spared New York much of its current trauma.

Government policies also have pauperized the old cities of the North. Federalization of welfare, national health insurance, full employment, an urban bank or any of several other measures could put New York back on its feet quickly.

Instead, New York pays a disproportionately large share of federal taxes and gets back a disproportionately small share of federal money despite its great needs. Federal military spending has built the boom cities of the "Southern Rim," which now draw people and investment from the Northeast. New York has its own special difficulties, but the general problems are shared by all of the older industrial cities.

►Redistribution of capital.

If the distribution and use of capital have led these cities into desperate straits, then the answer to the problem is redistribution and redirection of the use of capital to

serve the urban majority, not the rich investors. Current patterns will only lead to what John Mollenkopf calls the "Pariah City" of worsened poverty and strict social control. An unlikely revival of liberalism might lead to a Corporatist City of increased welfare programs.

However, it is possible for urban activists to take the road to what Mollenkopf calls the "Primitive Socialist City" by following some of the myriad suggestions in two books available from the National Conference on Alternative Policy.

The Community Ownership Organizing Project wrote *The Cities' Wealth*, drawing on the experience of local radicals in the Berkeley, Calif., city government in the past decade. There are ways that local governments can make the city serve the interests of the working class majority rather than the wealthy elite by gaining greater control over housing and real estate, municipalizing utilities, starting their own revenue-producing enterprises, winning leverage over private capital in banks, reforming taxes, improving governmental effectiveness while treating city employees fairly, increasing city income and controlling the automobile, just to mention a few alternatives.

►Winning power's the key.

The hardest nut to crack is not thinking up the good ideas, but winning sufficient power to implement them. There are myriad cautions in *The Cities' Wealth* about the limitations of the reforms, but the tone remains cautiously upbeat.

The Public Policy Reader is a much fatter, more eclectic compilation of dozens of articles, plans, bills, memos and testimonies about actions that can be taken to reverse the historic use of the wealth of the cities.

The historical analysis and current interpretations in *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities*, which deals in a way not forbiddingly technical with far more than fiscal or economic issues, make clear the national dimensions of the agonies of individual cities. Ultimate solutions will have to involve nationwide social change. A more modest movement to save the cities can start at the local levels, as *The Cities' Wealth* and *Public Policy Reader* demonstrate. They are valuable guides to activists and antidotes to despair.

(Conference books are available from 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.)

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

ART

Kathe Kollwitz, a great woman artist of the German working class

KATHE KOLLWITZ: Woman and Artist
by Martha Kearns
The Feminist Press, 1976 \$5.50

"Why have there been no great woman artists?"

The question, usually asked in the spirit of proving a point against feminists, gets some interesting answers in this new biography of German artist Kathe Kollwitz.

In the first place, the questioners overlook the fact that Kollwitz was one of the leading European artists of her time. Her prints and sculptures, expressing outrage at the sufferings of working people and glorying in revolution, were widely exhibited at the turn of the century and were removed from museums (in Germany) by Hitler in the '30s.

But biographer Kearns does address the question of the scarcity of women artists and uses Kollwitz's life to illuminate the problem. She shows that Kollwitz had one advantage many women do not—a condition that has been necessary for most great artists of either sex—a family who encouraged her and could afford to pay for lessons from a fine teacher. But even with a father who took her seriously and pushed her to become an artist, she met formidable obstacles. For example, it was not thought

proper for female art students to draw nudes.

Some facets of Kollwitz's personality—her drive and ambition—were considered masculine in the 1880s when she was growing up. She accepted this. "As a matter of fact," she wrote, "I believe that bisexuality is almost a necessary factor in artistic production."

Kearns sees Kollwitz's marriage to a man for whom she felt more friendship and respect than love as a step that gained autonomy for her career. Karl Kollwitz was a physician who never made much money because of the poverty of his clients. He and Kathe lived all their married life in a working-class neighborhood in close daily contact with the lives of its people. From this experience she drew the material and motivation for her depiction of working-class life and workers in revolt. "It is my duty to voice the . . . never-ending sufferings heaped mountain high."

Like many young socialists of his day, Karl Kollwitz believed in equality for women. Although the couple's life was far from harmonious, they fashioned a space that made daily work possible for Kathe, and her experience of motherhood gave her some of her most powerful material. She did many portraits



The Survivors

of working-class mothers, who "in darkest despair continue to support the life of others." And she chose for the most part to use the media of etchings, lithographs and woodcuts, which could be reproduced in many copies and sold cheaply so that working people could afford them.

Personal and political life were deeply integrated in Kollwitz's art, and Kearns deals with both, showing the artist at work, surmounting both technical and thematic challenges.

Kollwitz was close to, though never a member of the German Social Democratic Party until it split at the end of World War I, after which time she identified with the Communist Party. When her son was killed in the war, Kathe became a pacifist, and a recurring theme in her later work is women and children, victims of war, crying out to stop it.

In her 70s, living in poverty in Nazi Germany, her work taken from museums and destroyed by the Gestapo, Kollwitz had to bear the loss of another dear one to

the evil she fought so hard to end. Her grandson died in World War II.

Filled with despair at his death, the death of so many young Germans and what seemed the death of all the things she had struggled for, this great woman and artist could still write to a friend, "some day a new ideal will arise and there will be an end to all wars . . . People will have to work hard for a new state of things, but they will achieve it."

—Judy MacLean

BOOKS

Science fiction writers address today's issues

BEST SCIENCE FICTION STORIES OF THE YEAR: Fifth Annual Collection
by Lester Del Rey, E.P. Dutton, N.Y., \$8.95

A science fiction master presents us with his selection of ten short stories, some by names that are familiar to SF buffs, some that are not. The writers address a wide assortment of contemporary problems and do a fine job on the causes of society's decadence.

THE END OF THE DREAM
by Philip Wylie, DAW, \$1.25

By a former writer for *The New Yorker*, this one is a powerful and persuasive prediction of the way modern civilization will end: in squalor, misery and sorrow. Wylie paints a spectacular picture of a world turning to waste while its population perishes. Yet, under its doomsday content is a strong current of hope.

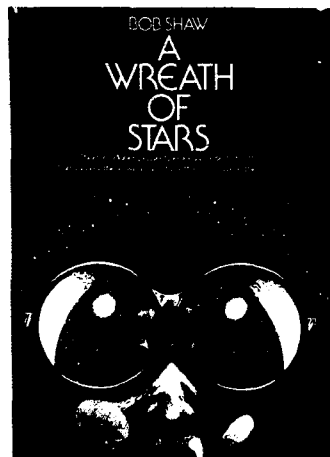
BROTHERS OF EARTH
by C.J. Cherryh, DAW, \$1.50

Establishing her position as a major talent in the tradition of C.L. Moore and Leigh Brackett, Cherryh has created a galactic battle between two rival worlds and the struggle for dominance between lone survivors thereof.

DEUS IRAE
by Philip K. Dick and Roger Zelazny, Doubleday, \$5.95

A collaborative first between

two SF greats, this one takes as its subject a new religion that emerges to challenge the steadily weakening Christian ethic after the holocaust of World War III. The authors address the question of morality through the journey of a mutilated mural artist in search of the God of Wrath (who is rumored to live in Los Angeles) and the young Christian-turned-drug-addict assigned to protect him.



A WREATH OF STARS
by Bob Shaw, Doubleday, \$5.95

A terse tale about the merger of Earth and an alien planet in the last part of the 20th century, enlivened by international suspense, a kinky love triangle, and an extraterrestrial oracle.

—Talishan Ferrell

Talishan Ferrell works in publishing in New York.

New novel in naturalist vein

CALDO LARGO
By Earl Thompson
G.P. Putnam's Sons, N.Y., 1944, \$8.95

Earl Thompson writes like a man who doesn't know that the academy has already skinned and stuffed naturalist fiction and placed it in the museum.

His new novel, *Caldo Largo* (the name for a Mexican soup in which everything gets thrown into the pot, and also the narrator's way of referring to the sometimes boiling waters of the Gulf of Mexico on which a large portion of the action takes place) focuses on the daily lives of shrimp fishermen, bar girls, deputy sheriffs, sailors, laborers, truck drivers, counter men, waitresses, and hospital orderlies. Its gusto and intensity might even convince a large number of readers that the tradition of Zola, Stephen Crane, Frank Norris and Dreiser remains a vital one in American literature.

Johnny Hand, the Korean war veteran who tells this story in the first person, certainly thinks so. Narrating his story, which begins in the gulf town of Brownsville in 1959, he speaks in a broad, open language that often includes the kind of obscene language and tough, fresh sexual encounters that writers who believe raw life ought to be served up on our plates often use. His attitude toward the seamy, everyday matters of life grows out of the naturalist's view that reality must

Its gusto and intensity might convince a number of readers that the tradition of Zola, Stephen Crane, Frank Norris and Dreiser remains a vital one in American literature.

shock the reader into knowledge.

Hand is a rough lover and a tough customer in the "hard-boiled" mode. When a freak accident damages his fishing boat, he hires himself out to a band of Fidelistas who want to run some guns from Texas to the Cuban coast, and we find ourselves listening to a terse, sinuous tale that recalls the plot of Hemingway's *To Have and Have Not*.

Johnny Hand's personal struggle, however, has little to do with the mysterious codes of honor and pleasure one finds in Hemingway's fiction. Clearly, he would rather *have not* than *have*. Speaking to the question of the values inherent in contemporary American life, he offers a straightforward, unmythical critique of life on the U.S. mainland. The life he fought in Korea

to preserve has turned "into a game, a killing game, with television and sports and sex as reward for the winners." His work as master of his own boat (threatened at the time of the story by the advent of large corporations who fish and then freeze their own catch) has turned him away from most of the supposed comforts of his class:

I realized I had become a strange man. My ties to the hopes and dreams of my kind had become too thin ever to trace back to a bungalow way to go, grass to mow, talk of sports, movies, last night's TV show, watching a pretty good woman wasting a little more each day, wasting myself, both of us just growing god-damned silly.

If the voice here seems familiar, it is because we have heard it before in the complaints and laments of country music, dissident union members, and down-and-out workers of all kinds. And we've heard it, decorated perhaps with arcane terms from European sociology, in the essays of a number of important middle class writers as well. That Earl Thompson can turn out a valuable piece of fiction based on this voice is a tribute to the tenacity of the naturalist vision.

—Alan Chuse

Alan Chuse teaches English at Bennington College and reviews fiction regularly for *In These Times*.

FILM

Brothers: racism and romance but not much George Jackson

BROTHERS

Written and produced by Edward and Mildred Lewis

Directed by Arthur Barron

Starring Bernie Casey, VONETTA McGEE and Ronald O'Neal

Distributed by Warner Bros, rated R

George Jackson once described as his ultimate goal a merging of the personal and political life to the point where they were no longer separable. But in *Brothers*, a film based on his life and death, after a few fleeting references to radicalism the focus is strictly on romance.

One may be critical of *Brothers'* failure to deal with reality only in terms of what might have been, given this subject. As it stands, the movie is well-intentioned, well-executed and superbly acted, particularly by Bernie Casey in the main role of the George Jackson character, David

Thomas. Owen Pace turns in a subtle, convincing performance as Thomas's younger brother (Jonathan Jackson). Their opening scene together is one of the best in the film.

As Paula, VONETTA McGEE is not called upon to do very much except try to look as much as possible like Angela Davis. Still, she manages to add some depth to what could have been a very dull part.

The problem is that the actors are constantly being let down by the script. Particularly irksome are the "love" scenes in which Paula makes goo-goo eyes at Casey, who—wrapped in chains and under armed guard—has to deliver lines like "You smell like a field of fresh flowers," while wildly inappropriate music by Taj Mahal swells the sound track.

By concentrating on the per-

sonal aspects of the story, the screen writers and the director have stripped the film of most of its political depth. Racism is projected as the root of all evil. George Jackson's analysis of racism related it to all the other social ills in America. *Brothers* reduces the problem to a set of early 1960 stereotypes.

For example: racism in jail is shown a blatant and brutal, an extra punishment blacks must endure in addition to all the other inhumanities of prison life. But the film stumbles into the easy trap of making the head guard a halfwit redneck, the white inmates all pugnacious bigots, the black inmates all men of quiet dignity.

Such simplification turns a potential ball of dynamite into a pop-gun aimed at two dimensional decoys. No question of who are the good guys and who are



Bernie Casey and Ron O'Neal

the bad. But when the head guard—who has personified all the faults of our society—is shot, it's as if the evil were destroyed with him—a dangerously erroneous concept.

Angela Davis has called the film "highly fictionalized—which is perhaps her way of dealing with its fuzzy politics. But she has gone on the road to

promote it, so it seems safe to assume that she believes its strengths outweigh its weaknesses.

Brothers is a good movie. With a little more guts, it might have been a great one.

—Pat Hertel

Pat Hertel is a free-lance writer who lives in Chicago.

Buffalo Bill shows why Altman chose to go it alone

After waiting more than half a year, I finally got a chance to see *Buffalo Bill and the Indians* at the local drive-in. I was curious what had happened to the film since it had been taken from the hands of director Robert Altman and re-cut by his boss, producer Dino de Laurentis.

Altman signed a very lucrative deal with de Laurentis during the initial craze over *Nashville*, which the media touted as a sure-fire box-office bonanza. Laurentis always keeps an eye out for the newest financially sure thing. (He produced *King Kong* while also backing Bergman and Fellini.) In Altman he seemed to have a goldmine—a director who could capture the hearts of the general audience as well as the minds of the critical establishment.

So Altman was signed to do the film version of Arthur Kopit's play about Buffalo Bill, and then to handle two hot properties de Laurentis had acquired, the novels *Ragtime* and *Breakfast of Champions*. In the meantime *Nashville* bombed (i.e., it made some money, but never became the intellectuals' *Jaws*).

Altman began to have problems with the money man. Before *Buffalo Bill* was in the can, de Laurentis was fuming. The film

was not commercially viable. He allowed it to run for a few weeks anyway, then pulled it from circulation. The picture was re-cut; Altman's collaboration on the two heralded novels was cancelled.

This lesson in high finance cured Altman of the illusion that he could reach a workable detente with Big Money. He formed his own production company, Lion's Gate Films, and has taken on the task of distribution for his hand-picked proteges. So far, Lion's Gate has produced Alan Rudolph's *Welcome to L.A.* and Robert Benton's *The Late Show*. (Altman's new film, *Three Women*, was backed by 20th Century-Fox, but on his terms and turf.)

The new company became involved in distribution out of necessity. United Artists was supposed to distribute *Welcome to L.A.*, but when they found the film "uncommercial," they started to balk. Lion's Gate moved in to keep it from being mutilated or abandoned—a decision that took money and guts, because distribution is perhaps the roughest part of the film business.

Altman's production company may prove to be significant for the future of American commercial cinema. With all phases of

production and distribution under his control, he can make certain that audiences see films as they were conceived and created, not as re-thought and reconstructed by profit-makers. Altman seems willing to take the risk that some of his films may appeal to only a limited audience.

Such appears to be the case with *Buffalo Bill and the Indians*. Even the re-cut version is distinguished by Altman's distanced eye, his refusal to concentrate on the "main story" or the hero. Instead he's continually exploring the nature of the filmic process itself, paying attention to the complexities of sound, the long shot, the slow zoom and the nature of genres. This aesthetic strategy may confuse the viewer who came to see a typical western or a typical Paul Newman picture. Cars were pulling out of the drive-in after the first ten minutes of the film. By the end there were only five autos left, besides my own.

Newman gives a stunning portrayal of Buffalo Bill, but his Bill Cody is a bastard. The American showman, insulated from the real world by unmovable tents and arenas, drinks from morning till night and has a penchant for bedding down with opera singers. Sitting Bull is his

nemesis (the movie's secondary title is *Sitting Bull's History Lesson*).

Famous for leading the victorious Sioux against Custer, Bull has signed with the Wild West Show because a dream told him that by this means he would meet Grover Cleveland (the Great White Father). Bull's dreams come true with spooky regularity. After meeting the President, who refuses to speak with him, he leaves for the reservation and fulfills another dream when he dies at the hands of reservation police.

Sitting Bull's visions, pure and spiritual, are contrasted with the bogus, corrupt illusions of the Wild West Show. Through his association with the Indian chief, Cody comes to realize his true condition. Surrounded by a fawning entourage and glorified portraits of himself, he can no longer trust the accuracy of these reflections. He's a star, a huge financial success, but he's not the hero he constructed himself to be. The illusions he peddles have become untenable to him, but they're all he's got.

In its original state *Buffalo Bill and the Indians* must have been wonderful; even the revised version was interesting. In one sense, de Laurentis plays Buffalo

Bill to Altman's *Sitting Bull*. The dream lives, but in an excised form.

It could be that de Laurentis deserves some credit for confirming, by his treatment of this film and its director, Altman's vision of the bogus corrupting the real.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University and writes regularly for *In These Times*.

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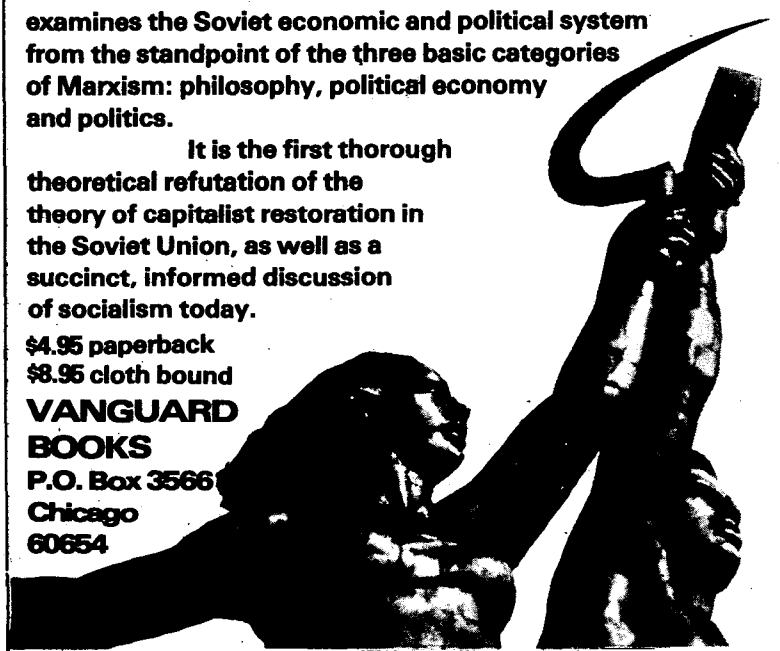
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BOOKS

Paperback potpourri of stories about working in America

ON THE JOB: Fiction about Work by Contemporary American Writers
 Edited by William O'Rourke
 Vintage Books, N.Y., paperback, \$3.95

There are paperback anthologies of stories by women and blacks, stories about war, alienation, urban life and sports. Such collections may be accused of trying to ride the profitable crest of current fad-interest, but they do make the literature of the field involved accessible to people who cannot afford to find the original books or magazines.

On the Job is a collection of 30 contemporary stories about work in America. It is a slightly confused effort even in its premises. In defense of his selections editor William O'Rourke admits that they don't constitute a study of the working class in modern fiction. The object is rather "to detail what it is like to work in America: from laboring, through the professions." Accordingly, there are stories about a soldier in Vietnam, a heroin dealer and a rock musician.

The reader will probably be struck by the fact that so many of these stories about work possess a frightening surreality. In his book *Working*, Studs Terkel quoted Freud's remark that man's work gives him a secure place in a portion of reality in the human community. Terkel then went on to show just how insecure and unreal work can be. "It is perhaps this fear of no longer being needed in a world of need-

less things that most clearly spells out the unnaturalness, the surreality of much that is called work today."

This is one of the keys behind a story like Grace Paley's "The Floating Truth" in which a woman goes to an employment agency located in a parked car and is hired by a businessman "to read the morning papers in the morning and the evening papers in the afternoon, in case some question about current events should arise." Or there is Lynnda Schor's "My Death," about a housewife who dies and for a full day simply cannot convince anyone that she's actually dead because everyone has grown so used to her doing all the chores.

These stories have to be distinguished from others in which the lack of reality seems to be en-

joyed in a laid-back, disengaged sense. In "Gas War" service station employees gleefully give away gas and destroy the station. Stoned hippies in "Works and Ways" dreamily make candles in a Berkeley factory. In both cases the unreality seems nurtured, part of the literary effect, not, as in the others, at the root of the system.

Rosellen Brown's "I Am Not Luis Beech-Nut" is the sharp, biting monologue of a Puerto Rican grocery store owner who has realized that it is really Beech-Nut that is making the profits and holding the power in his store. The writer captures his humor, his resourcefulness and his will to fight back.

On the Job almost redeems itself by the inclusion of this one remarkable story. But there are

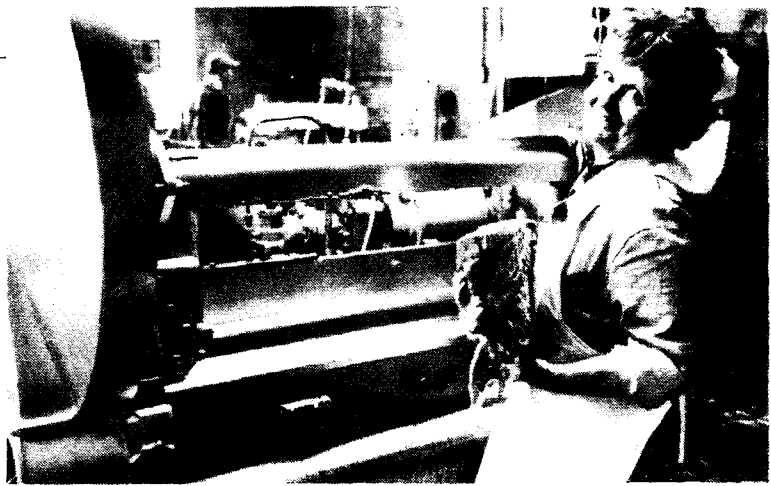


Photo by Les Orear, from *On The Job*, Illinois Labor History Society.

few others in which the characters have any consciousness of what is exploiting them or what is their own strength. Awareness is limited to those, like the rock musician, who "get used to it... join the sideshow." Compare this to the interviews in *Working* or *All the Livelong Day* or *The Hidden Injuries of Class* in which real people stand up to fight and are not simply passive victims.

Unfortunately, too, none of these stories deals with a person involved in social change, except in one where writers on a labor newspaper are portrayed as

bumbling "Life of Riley" types.

If fiction is not to lose its power to influence, educate and question, more writers must try to describe the work of Americans, and more editors must be willing to publish their stories. *On the Job* points out the need for a new, different kind of collection of work-fiction that will go beyond the easy, surface facts and tell the stories of jobs with some political and social insight.

—Jonas Weisel

Jonas Weisel is a freelance writer who lives in Massachusetts.



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Is it a bat or a belfry?

What the neighbors think

It's rare that an entire city gets involved in the question "Is this art?" But the new Claes Oldenburg steel latticework sculpture has all kinds of people in Chicago talking. In this case it happens that some of the most eloquent are also the closest to it.

They are Chicago's skid row inhabitants who live in run-down hotels only a few feet from the giant "Batcolumn" that stands directly in front of the Federal Administration Building.

At the dedication ceremony last week a group of artists under the banner "Surrealist movement" protested the sculpture, carrying signs that said "Tear it down" and "Expensive Joke"—the joke, they say, is Oldenburg's "obvious phallic symbol."

Three artists, one of whom carried a bottle of white paint, were subsequently "removed" by the police, but not before an assortment of street people and near-by construction workers joined their picket-line—creating a rather unlikely alliance of protesters.

Almost all the neighborhood people we talked to seemed to think there were probably a hell of a lot better ways to spend \$100,000. One man said, "They should have split up the money and given it out to the people—guys down here sure could have used it." Another observed that "After they got through with the dedication shindig, it probably cost more like \$200,000. For that money the least they could have done was paint it some bright color." (As it stands, the "big bat" is as grey as the Federal Building, the smog, and the garbage.)

It's hard for some to guess what Oldenburg had in mind. In the past his giant tea bags and gargantuan plaster hamburgers have captured something intrinsically American—a hype of gigantic proportions. But people are having a hard time figuring this one out. One man we talked to thought it was "quite a nice monument to Sammy Davis Junior."

No one thought the sculpture had much to do with their sense of art, nor could they understand why the city chose to put it in front of the Social Security Building, not Wrigley Field or Sox Park.

One man speculated that "maybe it's supposed to mean Social Security going to bat for the people." But he looked dubious.

Joan Mondale, who released dozens of white balloons at the dedication ceremony, wins the Schwinn for having discovered that the Batcolumn symbolizes the American "love for life."

Another man who hangs out at the Starr Hotel across from Oldenburg's vision tops Ms. Mondale. "Don't worry," he told us, "if another war comes they'll probably melt the damn thing down for bullets."

—Carol Becker

Public Art is monumental in Chicago

Public art is very big here these days. There is probably no other American city where you can walk four city blocks and pass two heroic and one medium-sized monument by recognized modern masters.

Starting from the plaza in front of the Civic Center you have on your right, first Picasso's great corten steel woman-horse-dog-you-name-it. Two blocks south along Dearborn Street you come upon Marc Chagall's merry "The Four Seasons" in the sunken plaza of the First National Bank. Two more blocks south, same side of the street, Alexander Calder's "Flamingo" is brilliant against the black glass background of the Federal Building.

The city's newest acquisition, Claes Oldenburg's lace-work baseball bat is situated slightly off the main drag, but squarely in the traditional: big, expensive and controversial.

There has always been a lot of publicly displayed sculpture in Chicago, some good, some terrible; but until ten years ago all of it was in one of the standard genres: idealized representations of role models, generally generals and generally on horseback; inspirational allegories like graceful ladies grouped like the Great Lakes; or totems—transplanted from Alaska or made in Chicago, like the policeman on a pedestal that stood so many years on the site of the Haymarket Massacre.

(That particular piece was topped so often in the '60s that the authorities finally gathered it to Abraham's bosom in the lobby of the central police station on South State Street.)

But the Picasso/Calder/Oldenburg (possibly even Chagall) trend is something else again.

It began with the Picasso, the model of which was donated by the artist. The foundry work was done free, by American Bridge, using material donated by U.S. Steel, which happened to be pushing a new product called corten. So what it cost the city, if anything, was more than offset by the publicity value calculated in tourist dollars.

Irresistibly cheap, but inevitably controversial! No one knew "what it was supposed to be." When it was inadvertently disclosed that Picasso had used (among other things) the head of his Afghan hound as part of the design, one alderman demanded that the nasty thing be torn down and replaced by a statue of Ernie Banks.

It took a city father with the clout of Richard J. Daley to cram the gift horse down Chicago's collective throat. But once the swallowing was over, the public became (gradually) pleased and proud.

"The Four Seasons," which also cost the city nothing, was easier to assimilate, except by those who think public art should be protest art. The four sides of what looks like a sarcophagus

are decorated with dreamy abstractions in alluring pastel colors. If the work is out of place in a concrete and glass canyon, it does at least remind the passerby that there are pleasanter places.

Calder's "Flamingo" and his "Universe" (in the lobby of the Sears Tower) were harder on Chicago philistines, but there were no loud complaints about cost. Who can complain about how Sears spends its super-profits? And there was little public discussion of the federal funds used for the "Flamingo," the first in a series of works commissioned by the GAO to encourage the arts and take the edge off the ugliness of the new federal buildings.

But Oldenburg—probably deliberately—opened a different can of worms.

This particular design was selected from a series he sketched some years ago as possible monumental sculptures. In the original rendering, exhibited in a "Towers Show" at the Museum of Contemporary Art, the bat was solid and brightly colored. A real, recognizable Louisville slugger, outsize!

This is standard Oldenburg fare: an ordinary object radically altered in scale or some other aspect, as for instance, made soft instead of hard or vice versa. Chicago artist and critic, Harry Boros, an Oldenburg fan, explains the position this way.

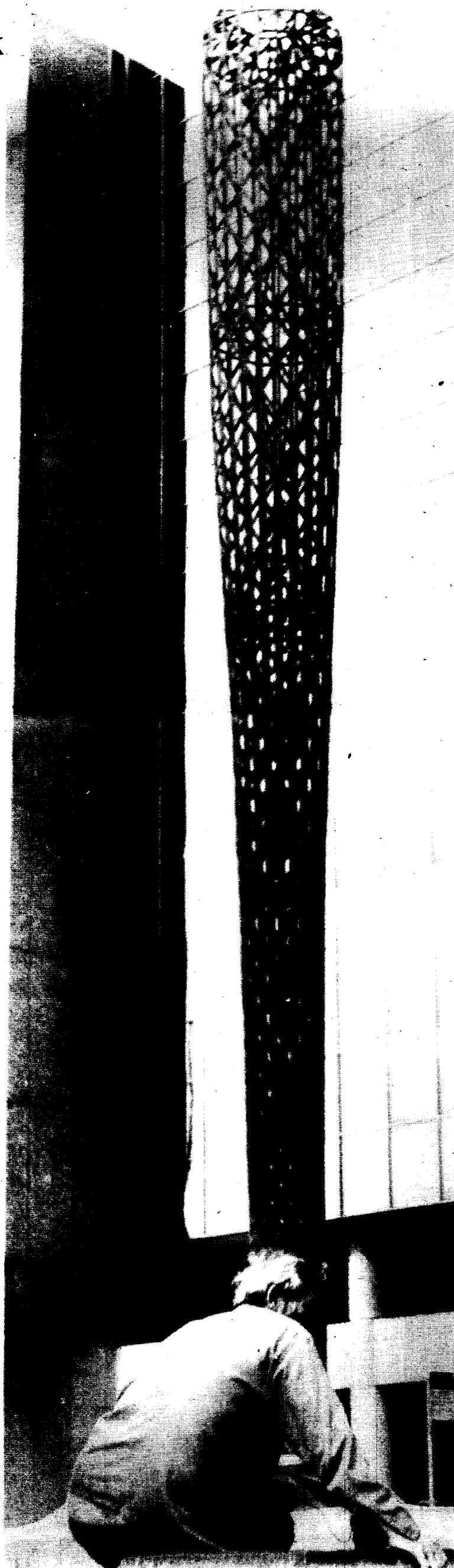
Most public (and much private) art becomes invisible after the first or second look, particularly if the looker is able to "catch it in a cat's cradle of language," to say, "Oh, that's supposed to be a dog... or a Congressman... or a flame symbolizing the Chicago fire or eternal life." It no longer impinges on the public consciousness. (As proof Boros cites a bronze bust, displayed in a Chicago park and recently ripped off by vandals. Weeks passed before anyone noticed that it was missing from its base.)

But when scale is altered or any other major deviation from the norm is achieved, the geography of vision is widened. People have to look and look again, have to worry and wonder, and finally apprehend the object in its own terms.

The trouble with the bat column, according to Boros, is that it is no longer a bat. Concessions were made to engineers who worried about stress problems and wind currents. The rust-colored corten was painted gray to accommodate the color of the HEW Building's facade. What had been a "mad, marvelous challenge" is now a "mini-Eiffel Tower" about which p.r. legends can be fabricated, e.g. "It captures the diamond essence of the baseball diamond."

So the bat is getting it from several sides. But Oldenburg should be well satisfied. People are looking for it, looking at it, and "relating."

—Janet Stevenson



Jane Melnick